

MARCH-APRIL 1963/60 cents

# FOCUS MIDWEST

63

**THE HERITAGE  
OF STEPHEN A.  
MITCHELL / *Paul Simon***

**POLITICAL  
UNDERCURRENTS  
IN KANSAS  
CITY / *Howard D. Neighbor***

**BIG TEETH,  
LITTLE TEETH / *Andrew Fetter***

**CHICAGO: CITADEL OF  
CENSORSHIP**  
*Abner J. Mikva*

**BLACK MUSLIM  
LEADERSHIP — FANATICS  
OR OPPORTUNISTS?**  
*Bernard N. Eismann*

**LAST CHANCE FOR THE  
CURRENT RIVER**  
*Leonard Hall*

**VINCENT VAN GOGH  
SHOW IN KANSAS CITY**  
*Sidney Lawrence*

# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

"Children of Sanchez" by Dr. Oscar Lewis of the department of anthropology at the University of Illinois has been added to the list of banned books. Mayor Frank X. Graves Jr. banned the book from the Paterson (N. J.) library because he objects to some of its language. The book is a sociological study of family life among the poor in Mexico. The book has been widely acclaimed as a literary and sociological masterpiece.

Illinois House Speaker John W. Lewis Jr., a Republican, wants to move relief clients out of Chicago to farms, where they can grow their own food. He also declared that they should make their own clothes. He stated: "There's plenty of idle land in Illinois. They can build schools and churches. There's nothing in the world wrong with allowing them to provide for their own livelihood." This, he felt, would benefit the clients by stopping them from living off pre-packaged meats and out of tin cans.

At least three billboards were leased by the John Birch Society in Missouri. Two billboards call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U. S. Supreme Court. The third, in St. Louis, featured a holiday message: "Christmas Is Christ's Birthday. Come let us adore Him."

Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi was refused use of a Cambridge (Mass.) high school for a scheduled speech.

House Joint Resolution 17 (Missouri), introduced by Reps. Keller, Weatherby, Hibler, Taylor, Davis (Lynn), Lincoln, Duensing, Wigfield, Cole and Cantrell, provides that anyone elected three times to the General Assembly can practice law. House Bill 87 (Illinois), introduced by Rep. Simmons, prohibits the flying of the U.N. flag over public buildings.

Michael J. Kelley in the *Kansas City Star*: "Kansas Citians generally approve of the hike in postal rates which went into effect yesterday. Even those who disapprove accept it, a sampling of opinions showed."

Rep. John M. Holliday (R. Jackson County) introduced a resolution in the House complaining of the presence of 14 graduate engineers from Yugoslavia at the University of Missouri School of Mines in Rolla.

In a report to the voters in his district, Rep. Tom Curtis (R. Mo.) declared that it is "nonsense" that a Southern Democratic-Republican coalition exists in Congress. In the December issue, *FOCUS/Midwest* published a table on "voting ratings" of area legislators. One rating revealed the percentage of times representatives voted with and against a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans (rather than with or against Northern Democrats). This grouping was called the conservative coalition by the *Congressional Quarterly*. Rep. Curtis voted 81 per cent of the rollcalls in agreement with, and 12 per cent of the rollcalls in disagreement with the position of the conservative coalition.

Speaking in support of the Missouri House Resolution which asks Congress to initiate an amendment that would prevent the Supreme Court from interfering in reapportionment of state legislatures, Thomas D. Graham, Speaker of the House, said: "There is no reason at all why the Supreme Court could not step in and tell Missouri that it must redistrict entirely on a population basis, or any other basis . . . This is a matter of states' rights, and if we are to maintain the sovereignty of the states we must tell Congress and the United States Supreme Court that we intend to handle legislative reapportionment ourselves . . . There is no stopping the Federal Government, unless we let them know we are tired of this growing usurpation of power. It is time to call a halt. We must show the Federal Government that we are a sovereign state and will do our utmost to remain so." He received a round of applause when he finished.

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Congress  
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# Letters

## *Big Brother is Listening*

F/M: FOCUS/Midwest has been a great help to me here at the Henry Regnery Company. As a forum for timely and intelligent Midwest thinking, it is greatly appreciated. Through reading the August, 1962 issue, Senator Edward Long's interest and expertise on the serious problem of wiretapping was drawn to my attention. It is now my hope that "Big Brother Is Listening" can be expanded into a full length study of the right of privacy questions raised by the development of modern spy techniques. With sincere thanks for your editorial initiative.

Lawrence S. Grow  
Henry Regnery Co., Publisher  
Chicago

## *Congratulatory*

F/M. I have been reading FOCUS/Midwest with a great deal of interest. It is making an outstanding contribution to this area.

W. Howard Adams, Chairman  
Governor's Committee on the Arts  
State of Missouri

F/M: I enjoyed the January issue of FOCUS/Midwest very much, especially the article by Merle Kling and the editorial on Kansas City. You are doing wonders.

Adam Haber  
Stanford University

## *Recommended Legislation*

F/M: A sour note. What is illiberal about taxing property? Is liberalism now a force to relieve property from public obligation?

M. Mason Gaffney  
University of Wisconsin

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the January issue we recommended to the Illinois General Assembly tax reform measures which would "avoid further increases in the sales tax, relieve inequitable tax emphasis upon real property, eliminate the present deplorable situation with respect to personal property taxes, and provide a fair, equitable, and graduated income tax — preferably a withholding income tax."

We do not advocate relieving real property of taxation. However, we feel that it ought not to be asked to bear as heavy a share of the total tax burden as is now the case. Personal property and intangibles largely escape taxation under the Illinois system. An income tax would distribute the tax burden much more equitably. The financial structure of the State of Illinois is unsound and can only be remedied through a revised tax system.

## *C. P. Snow Domesticated*

F/M: Upon re-reading Professor Kling's article "C. P. Snow Domesticated?" (January, 1963), I feel I must voice a suspicion that has haunted me since I first read it 20 months ago. I hope Dr. Kling will not be wounded by my polemical asperity, for I am grateful to him for first introducing me to Snow's work, as for many other enlightening experiences.

Dr. Kling's article strikes me as one instance among hundreds I have observed lending corroboration to Churchill's insight that Britain and America are divided by a common language. C. P. Snow's ideas about the "two cultures" and "science and government" *cannot* be transplanted as though innocently, to the United States. Applied to the United States, Snow's ideas are not only inapt but possibly inept.

Snow is concerned with a Britain undergoing a tremendous social upheaval. One manifestation of this upheaval is the debilitation of the humanistic and literary ruling *class* and the gradual incursion of the "new men" of science into the corridors of power. These men now exert great influence in ancient universities and in government. America had no ruling class. If a social stereotype of the recent tenants of power in America could be drawn, it would in no particular resemble that of the literary humanist. As for men of science, America never had any inhibitions about promoting them to positions of power. They are the "old men" of this society.

Even if, hypothetically, men of

letters were being supplanted here by men of science (a remote, un-empirical abstraction) this would not have the same weight of meaning as the decay of an ancient class in Britain. Assuming that the "old men" here are the scientists (not a remote abstraction), the "new men" are the social scientists. These latter have invaded the corridors of power in education and government to an extent producing an upheaval as devastating as the one gripping Britain, but an upheaval quite different in its moral and political attributes, its dynamics and its consequences. Rather than humanists fighting a rearguard action against scientists, America displays the energetic defense of a noble scientific culture against the monster reach of applied psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, economists, and other exponents of non-humanistic non-science.

The "domestication" of Snow in America, as distinct from Britain where Dr. Kling's insight might be very correct, is being conducted not by humanists but by the social scientists and natural scientists who have nothing to fear and nothing to gain from his ideas. These ideas are essentially irrelevant to U.S.A. 1963. The Snow fad itself is merely an example of the manic Anglophilia (in which I share) which cripples American self-analysis. As for Snow himself, he doesn't see this, and doesn't have to — he comes here and tells his story about England 1940.

Looking ahead, if there are any new "new men" coming into American power it might for the first time be the men of letters, who are beginning to make a showing in the universities, and, if the New Frontier has any say in the matter, might even obtain token positions in government. However, the social scientists may be expected to domesticate these pioneers before they expose the illiteracy of the present generation of new men!

Noah Lucatz  
Assistant Professor of Government  
Southern Illinois University

FOCUS/Midwest

## EDITORIALS

We want to congratulate Richard Bolling (D. Mo.) who was the lone dissenter when the House Rules Committee killed 12:1 a proposal to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee as an independent group and make it a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. The present Committee had frequently trampled on the rights of individual citizens. Sponsors of the proposal — two Democrats and one Republican — declared that they wanted to provide a more effective organization of the investigation of Communism and other forms of subversion. Supervision by the Judiciary Committee would have made it a more responsible body.



THE power of the printed word is often underestimated. Mr. Grow's letter (page 4) shows how effective a valid thought on fertile ground can be. We can submit other examples. The next issue will feature a sequel to Elinor Richey's article, "Accused: Chicago Art Institute" (September 1962), which played a leading role in preserving millions of dollars for sculpture in Chicago. FOCUS/Midwest is still very young, not quite a year. But in this brief period it has vindicated the labor and effort invested. In this spirit of service, we also offer the following information.

In the coming issue, readers will find the first of our monthly reports on the level of radioactivity in the Middle West. We are of the opinion that such reports should be regularly disseminated. Let these indices be the background against which we theorize about foreign policy.



IN February, community leaders from five states met at Springfield, Illinois to discuss freedom of residence. In the Middle West, the formal movement for integrated housing started in Illinois pushed ahead by the untiring efforts of attorney Donald Frey of Evanston, spread to surrounding states, and culminated in a Central States Planning Council for Freedom of Residence, which is chaired by Mrs. William Porter of St. Louis.

The conference brought together delegates from communities with a few hundred persons with those from the region's largest cities. All showed an iron determination to move ahead. It was recognized that some states may first have to pass their public accommodations or fair employment bills, before fair housing is tackled. But it is well for all, especially businessmen, realtors, and legislators to get used to the idea of moving America ahead an-

other notch in democratic living.

The realtors and bankers should conduct their own, unbiased studies — and publish it over their names. Such a report would show that property values in middle-class white neighborhoods are not lowered when the families of middle-income minority groups move in. But when change is sudden and white families are panicked into a mass exodus, they sell at a loss. The passing of fair housing legislation would remove the causes of sudden community influx by one group and eliminate the fear which causes other groups to move out.

The myth of declining property values finds no support in the following study of fourteen recent real estate transactions prepared by the Greater Milwaukee Council of Churches.

Purchase Price	Elapsed Time—	Sale Price	Assessed Value
\$6,000.00	1½ months	\$10,000.00	\$4,950.00
\$3,400.00	3 days	\$ 4,100.00	\$3,630.00
	6 months	\$ 9,200.00	
\$8,000.00	1 day	\$11,500.00	\$5,830.00
\$3,400.00	4 months	\$ 7,400.00	\$4,070.00
\$3,000.00	6 months	\$ 7,000.00	\$3,190.00
\$8,750.00*	7 months	\$12,500.00	\$6,600.00
\$4,800.00	1 month	\$10,000.00	\$4,180.00
\$5,035.00	2 months	\$13,000.00	\$4,620.00
\$7,500.00	2 weeks	\$10,900.00	\$4,950.00
\$9,100.00	2 weeks	\$12,000.00	\$7,040.00
\$8,500.00	1 week	\$10,900.00	\$1,870.00
\$5,700.00*	2½ months	\$12,400.00	\$5,940.00
\$5,000.00*	5½ months	\$12,500.00	\$5,280.00
\$3,000.00*	11 days	\$ 6,000.00	\$3,850.00

\* Multiple family dwelling

Many studies indicate that there has been a significant increase in the number of non-white families in the middle-income brackets. For example, Chicago market analysts point out that there are approximately 18,000 non-white families who have annual incomes of \$10,000 or more and that about half will be in the housing market within the next two years. Those realtors who abandon the hypocritical "ethical" practices of refusing to introduce an "inharmonious" element into a neighborhood, will do a true service to their own profession.

P.S. After the above was written, we learned that the Chicago Real Estate Board has accepted four Negro real estate men. Since its founding 79 years ago, the Board has never had a Negro member. We welcome and applaud this change and hope that other Boards, particularly in St. Louis and Kansas City, follow this example.

We want to notify our readers that the March and April issues will be combined into one edition in accordance with our policy to publish eleven issues per year. FOCUS/Midwest started publishing in June 1962 and the May 1963 issue will be the eleventh and the final issue for the one-year Charter Subscribers. Please renew before your subscription expires.



PAUL SIMON

## The Heritage of Stephen A. Mitchell

PERHAPS this article should be titled: "FOCUS/Southwest."

One of the Midwest's most distinguished citizens has moved to the Southwest, and it would be worthwhile to note what he contributed to the political scene, and what he left unfinished.

Stephen A. Mitchell, former national chairman of the Democratic Party, has moved from Illinois to Taos, New Mexico. There he continues to practice law in the colorful surroundings he and his wife Evelyn have come to love.

It is a gracious way to approach retirement (even though some years off) and as one who has come to know him well and admire him, I am happy for him personally.

At the same time I have some real regrets.

When the late Paul Butler was Democratic national chairman and had one of his first debates with Senator Thruston Morton, then GOP national chairman, he was introduced in Chicago as "a great leader of his party, in the tradition of Stephen A. Mitchell."

Afterwards Butler told me: "That's the finest compliment anyone can pay me."

Mitchell has his devoted friends — and his devoted enemies.

From the time he was named national chairman of the Democratic party by Adlai Stevenson in 1952, Mitchell always seemed to be going "from the frying pan into the fire." But en route he was building the Democratic party and was building something wholesome for all serious students of politics.

There are a number of areas where I do not find myself in agreement with Mitchell's views, but here are things all of us could profitably learn from him:

### 1. He was candid.

With rare exceptions, Steven Mitchell didn't go around ducking

issues. Politics was not a game for a few, in which the public was to be kept in the dark.

### 2. He believed that members of his party could make mistakes.

There seems to be an unwritten code among many political leaders that anything the opposition does wrong, we scream about, but anything we see that is wrong in our own party we sweep under a rug. Mitchell wasn't an "under the rug sweeper."

### 3. He was tough; the powerful were not powerful enough to muzzle him.

The Dixon-Yates scandal is a good example. When Mitchell exposed this, big utilities and several Democratic leaders tried to get him to back off, but he stuck. He believed he was right and he had too much backbone to be squelched.

### 4. He believed that politics is for the many, not the few.

His efforts were constantly in the direction of broadening participation in the processes of democracy. His book, "Elm Street Politics," was but one example of his work in that direction. He genuinely believed in the processes of democracy — even though he suffered defeat in his one attempt at public office. When decision-making is too select an operation, then the long-run effect will be harmful to the fabric of society, no matter how beneficial the immediate results of a concentration of political power may appear to be.

ONE of the tragedies of all this is that I am writing everything in the past tense: "he believed," etc. And in a very real sense this must be a political obituary, for former party leaders of ability are rarely called on for further service.

To my knowledge, Steve Mitchell wants no office and seeks none.

Yet somehow we ought to be seeking him. Whether it is a Republican

named Leonard Hall or a Democrat named Stephen A. Mitchell, men of great ability who assume the scars of party leadership should be called upon by our country for something more than a respectable law practice and a little lobbying activity.

Steve Mitchell is in his late 50's, vigorous and healthy.

He could contribute much to the nation, but for the fact that he has committed the unforgivable sin of being a national party chairman.

The second tragedy of Stephen A. Mitchell is that his goals for his home state are largely unfulfilled.

*Illinois remains a state where political participation is still not encouraged as it should be by either party, where political courage tends to be an exception, rather than the rule, and where monolithic adherence to party discipline too frequently appears to hold the key to political advancement.*

We can be thankful for a Leon Despres, an Abner Mikva, a William Robinson, a Bob McCarthy, a Tony Scariano, an Al Hachmeister, a Frances Dawson, and a Bob Marks in Illinois politics. All of them — Republicans and Democrats — have had the courage to think for themselves. Others could be mentioned.

Unfortunately their ranks are thin.

But if a prominent resident of Taos, New Mexico were still living in his native State of Illinois, he would be firmly and not-too-quietly encouraging those who stand on their own two feet.

It is no criticism of present party leaders to say that this is still a desirable goal.

*Paul Simon has recently been elected state senator after serving since 1954 in the Illinois House. He is the publisher of several weekly newspapers.*

# BLACK MUSLIM LEADERSHIP:

## *Opportunists or Fanatics?*

Bernard N. Eismann

THROUGHOUT the afternoon and into the evening the gaping cavern of the Chicago Coliseum filled with solemn-looking colored men buttoned into dark, conservative suits and with women wrapped in white gowns and wearing shoulder-length white head-dresses. They were the brothers and sisters of Islam . . . . . followers of Elijah Muhammad, self-proclaimed Messenger and Apostle of Allah, whose Black Muslim movement has been labeled "the most dangerous ideological movement in the United States today."

Fewer than three thousand of the sect's faithful attended. They came in cars and buses bearing the license plates of more than twenty states. The Muslims claim a national membership of more than 100,000; however, investigators have determined that as of January 1963 it was probably closer to eight thousand men and women. But the movement is growing, recruiting embittered Negroes who offer allegiance to the militantly black supremacist, anti-Christian cult which demands puritanical living, absolute obedience to its 66 year-old leader and unquestioning devotion to the idea that "white men are the spawn of the devil."

Civic and political leaders, white and Negro, consider the Muslims of Muhammad a danger. They have been described as:

" . . . potentially more dangerous than the Communist Party."

" . . . a growing danger to our security."

" . . . subversive to our form of government."

" . . . dedicated to murder (and) naked violence."

Federal and state prison officials, police departments across the country and security officers at military installations believe that in the event of national emergency the cadre of the Black Muslims will pose a threat to national security. One report being studied by Congressional investigators indicates that the Communist Party has Negro functionaries placed in the organization, especially in its schools, ready to direct mayhem against the United States. Muslims openly deny any allegiance to the United States.

The history of the organization justifies the concern. In 1942 Elijah Muhammad, then operating under the alias Elijah Muck Muhs, was telling his followers at the Allah Temple of Islam on Chicago's South side, "Be prepared for the day of reckoning with the palefaces. When that day

comes Japan will supply you all with guns." In league with Japanese agents, the "Messenger" was helping build an Axis fifth column among his followers. Based on information supplied by patriotic Negroes who infiltrated his cult he was arrested, charged with violation of the Espionage Act and finally convicted for failing to register for selective service. Muhammad, under the name Gulam Bogans, was sent to the Federal Penitentiary at Milan, Michigan where he served four years. It wasn't his first brush with the law.

The ailing and wizened, little man who sits as absolute ruler of his followers had known prisons before. Muhammad was born on October 7, 1897 in a sharecropper's cabin at Sandersville, Georgia. His father, an itinerant Baptist minister, took his family to Detroit where young Muhammad barely managed to finish three grades of grammar school. In the years that followed he drifted across the country, doing jail time in various places for vagrancy.

Sometime about 1930 he met with a man known, variously, as Wallace Fard, W. D. Ford, Allan Fard or W. D. Farad, a Detroit importer of mysterious origin who had served three years in San Quentin on a narcotics charge. Fard (or Ford or Farad) had started a Negro cult, representing himself to be the black man's messiah. He added W. F. Muhammad and W. M. Ali to his string of aliases. Muhammad joined him, and the Black Muslim movement, under a variety of names, was born. The "messiah" disappeared without a trace in 1933, and Muhammad proclaimed himself "messenger of Allah." The start of his career was bumpy. After being arrested and convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a minor, cultists ran him out of Detroit in 1935. He came to Chicago where he founded Temple of Allah No. 2 and started to build his organization.

From the beginning Muhammad, also known for a time as Elijah Poole, appealed to the ignorant and semi-literate Negro whose great frustrations seemed too much to bear. He offered them a garbled creed steeped in gibberish but still one that took hold and started to draw followers. In an unending stream of ungrammatical pronouncements the Prophet of Allah told the faithful that the colored men of the earth were God's chosen and that the white men, those without pigmentation, were the chaff, the "spawn of the devil." According to Muhammad's theology the black-

men, the original inhabitants of the earth who lived in Asia, were members of the "tribe of Shabazz." White men, says Muhammad, were the evil offspring of a dissident black man called Yakub who was the devil incarnate. The theology rambles on claiming that Yakub labored six hundred years to make the first white man, passing through stages from black, to brown, to yellow, and then finally to white. Once this was accomplished, according to Black Muslim dogma, the most racially diluted and inferior human being was developed. He was called Adam.

According to Muhammad's creed the offspring of Adam would rule the earth for 6,000 years during which the blackmen were to be tested for patience and endurance. That period is almost over, says Muhammad, and the white man will lose his place to the superior blacks between 1970 and the year 2000.

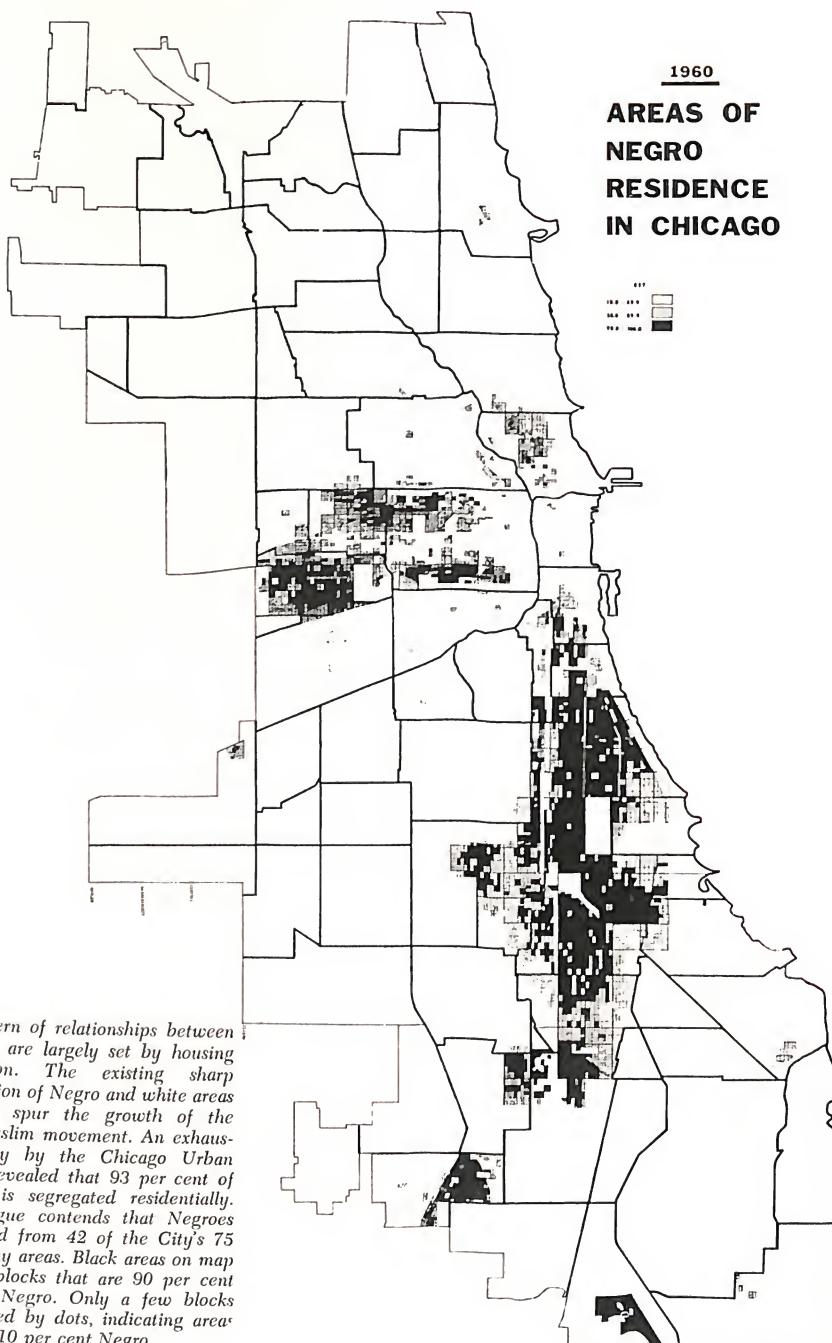
That is the basic creed of Muhammad's Muslims, one which bears absolutely no relationship to anything resembling true Islam, and Muhammad and his followers have been denied by leaders of the Mohammedan faith.

Through the years the Black Muslims embellished their creed, adding Arabic words and phrases, facing to the east when offering their prayers to Allah, and making the crescent and Star of Islam their symbol. They also added new goals, prime among them the demand that the United States cede several states to the blackman in America for a realm of his own — ruled, of course, by Elijah Muhammad and his followers.

Most of this dogma has found little support in the Negro communities where it might have been expected to be more widely accepted than it really is. Still, those who joined exert a power and an influence far greater than their numbers. The Muslims own retail stores in Negro neighborhoods and have taken title to tenements to house the more fanatic of their membership. Their holdings are extensive and, in Chicago alone, represent a cash investment of more than a half million dollars. Included in this are Muhammad's own lavishly furnished home on the South side and the University of Islam, a grade and high school for members' children, currently under close scrutiny by the State of Illinois. Almost 400 children are going to school there, being taught the precepts of the Black Muslim's faith. Few of his followers know of the extent of the Messenger's real

*The pattern of relationships between the races are largely set by housing segregation. The existing sharp demarcation of Negro and white areas indirectly spur the growth of the Black Muslim movement. An exhaustive study by the Chicago Urban League revealed that 93 per cent of Chicago is segregated residentially. The League contends that Negroes are barred from 42 of the City's 75 community areas. Black areas on map indicate blocks that are 90 per cent or more Negro. Only a few blocks are marked by dots, indicating areas less than 10 per cent Negro.*

estate and business holdings, and no one gets an accounting for the vast amount of money that is handled. The businesses run by the sect include food markets, laundries, bakeries and barbershops. But even the amount of cash they bring in is small by comparison with what members must pay out. The regimented believers who are sworn not to smoke, drink, straighten their hair or eat pork, to work hard, be neat, and to be faithful to their wives are under



heavy financial obligation to the Messenger. Each must pay eight dollars and thirty cents a week in tithe, sixty-five dollars a year as an annual "Muhammad's Birthday Assessment," and contribute thirty dollars each time a member of the sect is in trouble. In addition, they are required to give up their "slave" names and take names designated by a number and the letter X. The number prefixing the letter indicates a cultist's seniority in his mosque. When he is

to be honored the believer may get the right to call himself Ali or Sharrief or something similar. None but the Prophet may call himself Muhammad.

Besides the financial duties, the Black Muslim has other obligations. He must attend prayer meetings twice a week and, if he is physically fit, must submit first to basic military training and then to specialized judo and karate instruction to enable him to serve in the "Fruit of Islam." The "Fruit of Islam," steely-eyed, unsmiling young men, are Muhammad's personal bodyguard and the security troops of the sect. They search all men attending meetings, and will obey faithfully the orders of their unit commanders. They are instructed to go unarmed so as to avoid serious trouble with the police.

Muhammad's preachments have been met with contempt by Negro groups working for civil rights and integration. But they, in turn, are held in contempt by Muhammad who says integration is the wish of the white devils. He refers to the uninitiated as "the so-called American Negro" in derogatory fashion insisting that he and his followers be known as "Black Men." In recent months there have been attempts on the part of his leaders to try to reach at least a truce with organizations such as the NAACP and CORE, but they have failed. The excesses of Muhammad and his disciples have repelled many of the most bitter Negroes even though they may feel an identification with at least some of the things he says he does "to give the Black Man back his self respect."

Most Muslim meetings that are open to recruits, and certainly those that are open to the white press, offer "cleansed oratory." But often speakers forget themselves. His ministers have said that plane crashes killing white passengers were Allah's revenge for the shooting of a Los Angeles Muslim by policemen; and during the war his ministers proclaimed, ". . . our prayers were answered with the bombing of Pearl Harbor . . . God Bless Hitler . . . Tojo will save American Negroes from the White yoke . . . great Japanese victories will leave fewer victims for us."

The fold has grown slowly, but steadily, over the years; but Elijah Muhammad, who wears his sequin-embroidered fezz as his badge of office, is seriously ill. He spends much of his time, when not travelling in chartered planes with a massive

"Fruit of Islam" guard, in a beautiful home in Phoenix, Arizona.

Few of his followers live as comfortably as does the "messenger of Allah." Many new converts are made in prisons where they have triggered demonstrations and violence when they demand special privileges and recognition as a religious group. White merchants in New York and Chicago have reported numerous extortion attempts by men who say they are Muslims.

Violence, and the threat of it, runs the course of the Black Muslim's history. Two hundred screaming cultists tried to mob a Chicago courtroom in the late thirties, and when the fray was over one police captain and two Muslims were dead and eleven policemen had been knifed. In Detroit, police had to shoot to kill to protect themselves from a street mob. In Centerville, Illinois last summer, two believers were arrested in the bludgeon murder of a young Negro girl they had threatened because she had been seen with a white man. In Los Angeles, police shot and killed a Muslim when the brethren swarmed over them as they tried to arrest two men near a temple.

In city after city the incidents repeat themselves. Chicago Fire Department and building inspectors report close calls, and police have been briefed on how to deal with Muhammad's followers. The Muslim's creed is "not to turn the other cheek." But they have often provided the catalyst for violence against whites, and in the Negro ghettos they attempt to impose a vigilante law.

Muhammad's success is due, in great part, to the spellbinding manner in which he mouths his racist mystique. His words have an appeal, but Muslims know that if the cult is to prosper a new tack must be taken. At meetings now the familiar cries of "Yessir," "That's Right!" and "Amen" are heard as minister after minister harangues the audience and cajoles listeners to fill the collection cups before "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad will speak." But there are those in the cult who believe that once Muhammad dies, a slicker approach will have to be taken. It seems as though Muhammad himself knows that and has taken great care in the choice of a successor. He passed over five sons, who all hold high-ranked jobs in the cult's hierarchy, to appoint the minister of his New York Mosque, Malcolm X.

Muhammad's choice is a polished, articulate, and urbane man in his

## FANATICS OR OPPORTUNISTS?

mid-thirties whose racist hatred expressed in polished English seems even more chilling than the rantings of his master.

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska. His father was a Baptist Minister, loyal in the 1920's to the Black Supremacy teachings of Marcus Garvey, and outspoken in his beliefs. His family moved to Lansing, Michigan where Malcolm claims their home was burned down with every indication that it was done by arsonists. Malcolm insists, too, that his father, who died in a streetcar mishap, was not an accident victim. His bitterness grew as he left home and wandered to the East where, in Harlem's streets, he rose quickly from juvenile delinquent to admitted panderer and dope peddler. "This," he told Ben Holman writing a series for the *Chicago Daily News*, "was the result of my Christian upbringing."

Barely a man, Malcolm was convicted twice for larceny. It was while serving a prison term in a Concord, Massachusetts prison in 1947 that he says he was converted to the teachings of Elijah Muhammad.

Today Malcolm X is the Muslim's spellbinder, weaving oratory out of half-truths of history and long-nurtured hatreds. To watch him handle an audience and bring listeners to the frenzy point is warning enough that the smiling, often sneering, lean, brown-skinned man known as Malcolm X is either a wild fanatic or a brilliant opportunist. Whichever he is, X spells danger.



Bernard N. Eismann is the Chief Midwestern Correspondent for CBS News and co-author of "The Far Right," shortly to be published by McGraw-Hill. He operates out of Chicago.



## CHICAGO: CITADEL OF CENSORSHIP

*Abner J. Mikva*

CHICAGO, for all its alleged cosmopolitanism and for all its actual bawdiness, has been a citadel of censorship. Motion pictures, plays, comic books, magazines, dancers, newsreels, books — all have felt the heavy hand of official and unofficial censorship. Many have faced the threat of having formally to submit their product for an official imprimatur prior to exhibition. In the case of motion pictures, the threat has become a reality.

The American Civil Liberties Union among others, has been in the unpopular forefront of the fight against censorship. One of its earliest battles was against the local police department's ban on a newsreel which depicted Chicago's finest in a bad light. The newsreel dealt with the Republic Steel Company strike of 1937, during which several strikers were killed and wounded by Chicago police. The riot is usually referred to as the Memorial Day Massacre. A newsreel company took on-the-spot motion pictures of the fighting which were shown all over the country — except Chicago. A group of Chicago attorneys began negotiations to get the ban lifted. Legal precedents were at that time

most unfavorable to a lawsuit, since motion pictures were still considered entertainment and not within the scope of the free speech provisions of the First Amendment. The negotiations dragged on to no conclusion and to this day the newsreel has never been shown in Chicago.

The legal mechanism for Chicago censorship is an ordinance passed by the City Council which directs the Commissioner of Police to review every motion picture prior to its exhibition in the city. No mention is made of a Censor Board. However, since over 1,500 films are exhibited publicly in Chicago each year, the Commissioner delegated his authority to a board of six censors. Ostensibly the job as city censor is a civil service position. When a Civil Service Commissioner was asked when the next examination would be given, the last was held about 1932, she candidly admitted that they had no plans for an examination because they could not determine what such an examination should contain. As a result, the six censors' job traditionally have been filled under the Chicago patronage system. Almost without exception during the last 20 years, the

censors have been widows of former aldermen or other "deserving" politicians.

Every motion picture must be submitted to the Censor Board for a permit before it can be exhibited publicly. The censors can reject it outright, reject it unless the exhibitor agrees to make certain deletions from the picture, or, up to very recently, could issue a permit for "Adults Only." The "Adults Only" provision of the ordinance was held unconstitutional in a court test involving the film "Desire Under the Elms."

In the case involving the picture "Gone with the Wind," (adapted from Colette's "Le Ble en Herb"), the censors were interrogated on their qualifications and their functions. All hastened to acknowledge the open-mindedness of their approach by refusing to read any of the motion picture industry publications ("Variety," "Motion Picture Daily," etc.). One of the censors had been to college. Most of them had been exposed to Shakespeare but couldn't remember any of his work being bawdy. They all agreed that if the lines meant what they seemed to mean, children

*Continued on Page 16*

# BIG TEETH, LITTLE TEETH

*Andrew Fetler*



**A**t a recent party of young fiction writers in Iowa City, the talk turned to the literary market. The market looks like the Golden Gate, suspended between the *New Yorker* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.

First you send your story to the *New Yorker*, then you try the *Atlantic*, then *Harper's*, then *Esquire*, then, for a joke, *Playboy*. *Playboy* pays well, but there's no future in sexy gags and gaggy sex. *Harper's Bazaar*? Hardly. *Vogue*? Ugh. *Mademoiselle*? Not any more, unless you have a personal tidbit about Philip Roth or know something about Radcliffe. The manuscript readers at *Mademoiselle* are Radcliffes and Vassars full of soul.

For a while everybody buzzed with excited talk about the *Saturday Evening Post*.

There had been the nicest rumors about the Post. Norman Rockwell had been hanged, a little old husband-and-wife editorial team had been kicked out, Post investors were knifing each other on Wall Street, and the Curtis empire was crumbling like the House of Usher. About time, after all these years of fake fiction about fake people with fake problems.

But all that was to have been changed. Robert Fuoss, the *Saturday Evening Post*'s new editor, wanted fiction; he even wanted poetry.

Before anybody could take a second look at Mr. Fuoss, however, he was gone. The new Post, with the new fiction and the new poetry, never got off the ground. What got off the ground was the old president of Curtis, Robert E. McNeal — dismissed, fired. The directors had appointed a

new president, Matthew Joseph Culligan.

Culligan? Who's Culligan?

Mr. Culligan is a schwinger of 44 who looks as though he could smash a Schweppes bottle with his bare fist.

Expectant silence.

Mr. Culligan is a former advertising salesman for *Good Housekeeping*.

First groan.

"In all that has been written about me," Mr. Culligan explained to Dickson Terry of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "they've got me sort of painted into the corner. My experience has not been just selling and marketing. I've had 15 years of . . ."

Suspense.

" . . . management experience."

A managing adman. Second groan.

No, no. "Madison Avenue," Mr. Culligan explained, "is a state of mind more than a place, and it is a good example of mental inbreeding. The men look alike on Madison Avenue, dress alike and talk alike."

In sight. 1962.

"In fact, they have developed a patois of their own which is not even basic English. Nobody else can understand it. And on Madison you could say anything you wanted to about Curtis, so long as it was negative."

First laugh. Mirror, who's the loveliest of them all?

Give him a break, termites. Let's see what he wants to do with the *Saturday Evening Post*.

"To some extent," Mr. Culligan said, "the magazine got into the hands of the Bohemians and the finger painters."

A shriek.

"We're going back, within reason, to what the *Saturday Evening Post* used to be. Good fiction, good articles."

Third groan.

"Under Robert Sherrod, the new editor, we have an almost 50 per cent new editorial staff. When you have a good product, selling it becomes almost automatic."

A bit less automatic if the product is no good — like a national tour of speaking engagements with adver-

tisers. Ever see an adman trying to persuade an adman? Second laugh.

"And I think we're back on the track. The Post is returning to the position of its own great tradition."

Third laugh.

That's nothing, somebody at the party said. I know a writer at Illinois who hates the *New Yorker* even more. A friend sold one of his stories to the *New Yorker*, but the writer returned the check and demanded the story back. Wouldn't be seen there.

Reverent silence.

Then somebody tossed a copy of the *New Yorker* from the coffee table. It happened to be the September 8, 1962, issue. The party crowded around. As the pages were flipped, catcalls came from every side. *New Yorker* cartoons. Where's the fiction?

Here's a polished husk. It's a story about an Italienate New Englander, or rather a New Englandled Italian, Lorenzo by name, who may or may not stay with his boring and bored wife in her Dada's summer house on the beach till the end of summer, depending on whether or not the weather is fair.

In the meantime, Lorenzo likes to sketch the dunes, but there is about the dunes something too . . . something too too. Baffling, in fact.

"The light-green, almost white grass imported from Holland to keep the sand in place baffled him."

Oh, deah! What's he going to do?

Maybe he will export this baffling grass back to Holland, and import less baffling spear grass from Madagascar, mixed sparingly with primitive masks. Lorenzo ought to be able to sketch spear grass and primitive masks, no?

Madagascar, by the way, is only a jet hop from Iviza — if you fly up from the south you won't have to look at touristy Majorca — and from

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Where Maple, Hodiamond,  
Skinker & Olive St. Rd.  
meet. 6100 W.: 1000 N.  
Men only. Park free.

Iviza an amusing little fishing smack takes you to Formentera for a tolerable dish of matelote of turbots and sauce provencale made of fried oysters and crayfish.

As for this light-green, almost white grass imported from Holland to keep the New England sand in place — no, dear fellow, it can ruin one's afternoon. "Like the sea, it shone too much and too well for his pencil." Poor devil.

This same doggedly tiresome Lorenzo — or his author, Arturo Vivante — wouldn't be caught dead in the New Yorker writing limbs for arms and legs. What would the neighbors say? Hang me, shoot me, quarter me, but don't snicker at me. I know all about Queen Victoria's retirements. To be safe, I won't even let the pine trees have limbs; I'll give them arms, and I'll make them wave, by God. "Then, sitting at the desk in his study, watching through the window the arms of the pine trees wave, he made sketches."

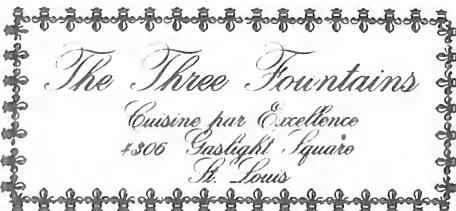
What happens then?

Surprise, surprise, nothing happens. Except that Lorenzo tells his wife he had tried to seduce his neighbor's mistress, the cad. And his wife looks subtly, subtly reassured.

The literary party broke up with hoots and jeers.

As you can see, the tone of the party was not right, either. Big teeth, little teeth. The jungle is the place where it is impossible to know whom to pity. You have to pity everybody, or nobody.

*Andrew Fetler, a Lithuanian who came to this country before his teens, is a short story writer and novelist. His stories have appeared in Atlantic Monthly, Contact, Perspective, and other magazines. He was recently the recipient of Atlantic Monthly's "Short Story of the Year" award. He now lives in Iowa City, Iowa.*



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# LAST CHANCE FOR THE CURRENT RIVER

THE first National Parks set aside in America created few problems and cost little money. They were created out of the public domain which "we, the people" owned. We simply took land which nobody especially wanted and switched it from a pocket marked "hold for exploitation" to one with a label saying "permanent preservation."

As time went on, problems in setting aside land for National Parks increased. We did, however, manage to establish criteria for the selection of these areas. They must be of national significance and thus important to *all* the people. This means they will be of unique and unmatched scenic beauty or grandeur — and that they will have special ecological, geological, or biological interest, or perhaps all three of these.

National Parks are created "for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people." They differ in many aspects of use from other public lands such as National Forests. In the Parks, except for specified areas such as campgrounds and those needed for administration and interpretive services, the use is strictly limited. No tree is cut, no hillside ripped by the miner's shovel, no domestic livestock grazed. Wild birds and animals are completely protected except for measures necessary to keep species in balance — and these measures are taken by Park personnel. Wilderness areas remain natural and wild, while areas of public use are subject to long-range planning and expert supervision.

Today a critical problem facing America is how to save the remaining areas which meet National Park standards; how to include with these, adequate examples of land types such as seashores and rivers not now represented; how to develop under other agencies, areas of value but of lesser significance; all these to meet the exploding needs of our people for

open space and recreation. In the early days, magnificent examples of the American landscape could be set aside, literally, by a stroke of the pen — granted not all of their preservation problems are perfectly solved. Today pressures have become intense — and with each new Park the task becomes more difficult. One reason is that proposed areas now often contain lands already privately owned and specifically held for exploitation of such natural resources as lumber, minerals, water power, grazing — or simply for their speculative real estate value.

A classic example of the conflict between self-interest and the public interest in this field was the struggle to establish Great Smoky National Park. From the time of the first proposal until passage of final legislation and appropriation of purchase money, ten years elapsed. Yet today Great Smoky welcomes more visitors each year than any other National Park — and does so with no loss of the values for which it was established. Moreover, the area surrounding the Park has progressed from a condition of permanent backwoods poverty to one of permanent forward-looking prosperity.

The story here is a familiar one: lumbering interests fought the Park almost to a standstill. Land speculators, mountain people inflamed by carefully planted propaganda, "bleeding hearts" who bemoaned the "passing of a rare mountain culture" which had actually died with the coming of roads, the Model A, the power line, the radio, and Government assistance checks — all these were present. Signs were posted: "National Park — NO!" and "Stay Out or Get Shot." Those who have been through one of these struggles can cite chapter and verse. Today even Congress recognizes the need of the people for open space. Thus the Eighty Seventh Congress established three new areas of National Park status —

more in number although not in acreage than any previous session. Padre Island off the Texas coast, Point Reyes on the Oregon coast, and an area on Cape Cod were all taken into the Park system under a new category of National Seashores. Other proposals died at the end of the session — one of these being the Ozark Rivers National Monument in Missouri.

It should be stated here that while some controversy arose over this and an opposition bill in the last session, new legislation to create an Ozark National River on the Current and its tributary Jacks Fork was introduced in the first days of the present session by Senators Symington and Long and by Congressman Ichord whose district embraces the area under discussion. These bills seem to satisfactorily compromise most points of controversy without sacrificing the essentials necessary for preservation of the area and the accompanying economic stimulus to the towns and counties involved. A brief review indicates the urgent need for prompt action on the bills.

Current River and the incomparable springs which rise along its course meet every standard for preservation at the National Park level. One of the outstanding free-flowing streams left in the nation, the Current has often been called "the most beautiful small river on the continent." It has somehow managed to maintain its beauty and integrity in the face of every kind of abuse that man could heap on it; but today the pressure is so great that unless immediate steps are taken, this great national asset will be destroyed and lost.

If more reasons than its unique beauty are needed why the Current and its watershed are worthy of preservation, these points can be mentioned: The southeastern Ozark region traversed by this river represents the oldest land mass on our

continent; a land at least a half billion years old where we can trace twelve ocean inundations, of which the most recent was 250 million years ago. Since that time the rest of our continent has been covered with water once or many times. This alone makes the area geologically unique.

As might be expected, the southeastern Ozarks are also biologically unique. Because of the age of these hills, countless life forms have had time to evolve here or to move in and adapt. Of the larger animal forms, some have been wiped out by man; yet others under better management during recent years are prospering. Botanically the region is remarkably rich — with as many native species of trees, shrubs, and wildflowers as can be found in any area of similar size in the nation. Some of these have been lost through bad land use; but most are still present in at least token numbers and can readily be brought back through protection and re-establishment of their habitats.

Despite these facts, all is not well with the Current River country. One leading Missouri ecologist and a native of the region recently described the Ozarks as "a devastated human habitat." The description fits all too well — and no amount of resentment can change the facts. Nor are the reasons hard to find. A hundred years of greedy and wasteful lumbering; a hundred years of woods fires mistakenly set to "kill the ticks and make the grass grow;" over-grazing of the worn, brush-covered hillsides; unwise cropping of soils that had little agricultural potential to begin with — all these played their part.

Farm family incomes averaging consistently between \$800 and \$900 per year; tax receipts in many counties insufficient to provide adequate schools and social and health services; almost total lack of economic opportunity for youngsters growing up here or for young adults; a slow but steady decline in population and rise in average age of those left on the land; a high percentage of citizens dependent on government help to provide a subsistence existence — these things create grave problems in the eastern Ozarks.

Concerned citizens of the area have long sought solutions — as have other Missourians who believe that solutions are not impossible. In 1959 a group of these citizens petitioned the Governor and the Missouri legis-



lature to appeal to the Congress for help in finding and working out these solutions. A delegation went to Washington. Senators Symington and the late Thomas Hennings secured funds for an area survey. Since repeated analyses of the region consistently pointed to recreation as the surest hope for economic advancement and relief, the National Park Service was chosen for the survey and they, in turn, called upon the University of Missouri for help. Also at hand was much recent data on the problem compiled by the Missouri Division of Resources and Development, the State Park Board, the Conservation Commission and others.

**O**UT of this survey and analysis came the proposal for an Ozark Rivers National Monument lying along the courses of the Current, Jacks Fork, and Eleven Point rivers and embracing land in eight counties. Bills to create the Monument were submitted to the Eighty-seventh Congress by Senators Symington and Long and by Congressman Ichord. These contained all measures necessary for permanent preservation including eventual federal ownership — while still providing lifetime tenure for those who wished to remain on the land.

Opposition to this legislation developed, spearheaded by large timber and mining interests in the area who prepared a substitute bill. This called for scenic easements instead of federal ownership, for a one-eighth-mile protected strip along the river banks which even proponents agreed was inadequate, and for administration of this so-called Ozark Scenic Riverway by the U. S. Forest Service. The bill was introduced by Congressman Thomas Curtis of Missouri and rallied support from among the highly diverse interests opposing the Ozark Rivers National Monument.

Those who favored the National Monument legislation should be listed here. They include both Senators, several Congressmen in addition to Mr. Ichord, Governor John Dalton, the Missouri Legislature by acclamation, the Missouri Park Board, Conservation Commission and other state agencies, practically the entire daily

press of the state, much of the weekly press, every Missouri organization interested in conservation including the Conservation Federation, Nature Conservancy, and Missouri Audubon Society, leading farm organizations, a large majority of business, civic, and education leaders of the area concerned, and countless individual citizens throughout the state.

At hearings on the Monument bill before the Senate subcommittee on Public Lands, which was chaired by Senator Clinton Anderson, committee members pointed out that testimony revealed "the usual controversy between self-interest and the public interest." The U. S. Forest Service, designated as the management agency for the opposition bill, testified *in favor* of the Monument bill with the National Park Service as the administrative agency.

Hearings were held before the House subcommittee at the same time. However, Congressman Paul Jones whose southeast Missouri 10th District includes two of the counties involved and who is a powerful member of the House Agriculture Committee which was to hear the opposition bill, refused to take a stand. Congressman Rutherford of Texas, since defeated, was chairman of the House subcommittee and was committed to the so-called "multiple use" of all the nation's natural resources, as is Congressman Aspinall who chairs the parent House Committee on Insular and Interior Affairs.

Following the hearings, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall visited Missouri, made a detailed survey of the rivers and the area, and returned to Washington urging that the designation be changed to National Park and that every effort be made to secure favorable action on the legislation in the Eighty Seventh Congress. Shortly thereafter, Senate committee members Alan Bible of Nevada and Frank Moss of Utah also surveyed the region and held all-day hearings at Big Spring State Park. Sufficient time was not available, however, for a visit to the area by members of the House Committee and the bills died with adjournment.

As stated at the beginning, Senators

*Leonard Hall of Caledonia, Missouri, is a nature columnist and a nationally known wildlife photographer, lecturer, and conservationist. His writings have appeared in Harper's, The Reporter, The Land, Saturday Evening Post, and other magazines.*

Symington and Long and Congressman Ichord have introduced new legislation to create an Ozark National River on the Current and Jacks Fork, to be administered by the National Park Service. Every effort has been made in these new bills to reach agreement on points of controversy.

The area lying within Congressman Jones' district — the Eleven Point River in Oregon and Howell counties and the lower Current river in Ripley county — has been eliminated. This could result in an almost irreparable economic loss to the people of these counties, may help assure destruction of the Eleven Point as a free-flowing stream through construction of the Water Valley dam, and will perhaps inspire some Ripley county citizens to a revival of attempts to interest the Corps of Engineers in a dam on the lower Current. Regardless of results, this is what Congressman Jones states his constituents want.

An important difference between the new legislation and former bills is a provision for the securing of scenic easements at the discretion of the Secretary of Interior, instead of outright ownership in all cases. It is to be hoped this provision will secure the cooperation of Congressman Curtis and those interests in the area who proposed the Ozark Scenic Riverway bill in the last session. There are also some details which supporters of the original Monument legislation will be asked to accept in the interest of harmony and bipartisan support for the legislation.

The important considerations are these: The new bills WILL do an effective job of permanently conserving at least two of the rivers — Current and Jacks Fork — even though the Eleven Point is lost. These will be saved for the whole American people. Nor can we allow these most beautiful and unique of Missouri's free-flowing streams to continue to go down the drain through unrestricted destruction of bank cover — unsightly and unzoned real estate development — and unregulated use by the steadily increasing number of visitors who are coming here no matter what happens.

The time remaining for action is short. It is to be hoped that all Missouri governmental agencies, conservation organizations, and forward-looking individual citizens will help create the Ozark National Rivers through passage of this legislation in the current session of Congress.

## FOR THE CONSUMER

### *National Labor Relations Board*

#### *Intermediate Reports*

Trial examiner found that Gale Products, Div. of Outboard Marine Corp., Galesburg, Ill., violated 8 (a) (1) by seizing or demanding that employees surrender union application cards, interrogating employees as to whether they signed such cards and also demanding that they reveal the identity of employees from whom they received such cards.

Trial examiner found that St. Louis Car, a division of General Steel Industries, Inc., violated the Act by discriminating with regard to the hire and tenure of Ralph Johnson. The motivating reason for Johnson's discharge was the dislike of Johnson's utilization of the Steelworkers' in ascertaining whether his job assignment was correct.

Trial examiner found that Marshfield Steel Co. violated the Act by interrogating employees concerning their interests in and intentions concerning the United Steelworkers, and by threatening employees to move the plant if the union was successful.

Trial examiner found that in locking out the meat department employees, the Kroger Co., National Food Stores, Inc., St. Louis, interfered with the statutory rights of employees to engage in a strike and discriminated against them.

Trial Examiner found that Tinley Park Dairy Co., Tinley Park, Ill. violated the Act by discriminatorily discharging two employees for their activity on behalf of the Retail Clerks, by granting a wage increase to discourage union activity, by threatening its employees with dismissal if they didn't "go along with us," and by questioning them in such a way as to interfere with their rights under the Act.

Trial Examiner found that Symons Mfg. Co's., Des Plaines, Ill. discharge of Walter Sangari was in violation of the Act since the discharge was

clearly of a nature to discourage participation in union activities and was motivated by Company's hostility toward his zealous efforts as chief steward for the union, Dist. No. 8, IAM, AFL-CIO.

Trial Examiner finds that Nickey Chevrolet Sales, Inc., Chicago, Ill. violated the Act by refusing to bargain with Local 701, IAM, AFL-CIO and Local 731, Teamsters, representatives of Company's employees by (1) soliciting employees to abandon both locals (2) attempting to bargain collectively and individually with the employees (3) encouraging employees to refrain from paying union dues, and (4) announcing that it does not intend to bargain with said local in good faith.

### *Federal Trade Commission*

**Consent Orders** (Respondents' agreement to discontinue challenged practices is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission of a violation of law.)

The FTC has issued consent orders forbidding the following Chicago toy manufacturers among others to discriminate among competing customers in paying allowances for advertising in any printed buying guide distributed by their customers: Radio Steel & Mfg. Co., 6515 West Grand Ave., and Hamilton Steel Products, Inc., 1845 W. 74th St.

The FTC has issued a consent order prohibiting Accurate Leather & Novelty Co., 5838 W. Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill., from misrepresenting and failing to disclose the composition of its products.

### *Miscellaneous*

A "Memorial and Planned Funeral Society" has been organized in St. Louis to provide "simple, inexpensive funerals." A membership blank explains that at the time of death survivors often agree to arrangements which are ostentatious, mournful, contrary to the desires of the deceased, and excessively expensive. The Society is a non-profit, non-sectarian association and can be reached at 5007 Waterman (8) or at FO 1-0595.



*Thomas R. Mulroy, attorney, is the chairman of the Chicago Motion Picture Appeal Board recently imposed on top of the Police Commissioner and his censor board. While most of the cases which have been appealed from the censor unit to the Appeal Board have been reversed, the question still remains whether the concept of pre-censorship can be sustained in a free society. Other members of the Appeal Board are Matthew H. Schoenbaum, dean of the downtown school of Loyola University, Dr. Henry Rago, psychologist, and Dr. Ner Littner, author and psychologist. Members of the Censor Board are: Beatrice McGill, Edith Joyce, Ilene Frymire, and Jennie Kare.*

*Continued from Page 10*  
should not read them.

Some of the comments by the censors as to their functions disclosed the serious nature of movie censorship which ACLU has so strenuously opposed. The Commissioner of Police, when being questioned, stated that the film "Game of Love" was obscene because it aroused in him a desire to be with his wife. One of the censors stated that her job was to protect the weakest member of society and she censored accordingly. Another censor stated that she "called them as she saw them." Another censor said her job was to see that Chicagoans get "educational entertainment."

The Illinois Supreme Court defined obscenity (in part) as matter which tended to arouse the sexual desires of an average normal person. All of the censors denied that their sexual desires were aroused by "Game of Love." Ultimately, the United States Supreme Court reversed the ban on "Game of Love."

**M**ost recently an assault was made on the entire Chicago pre-censorship system. The case involved a motion picture entitled "Don Juan." The distributor refused to submit the picture for censorship but demanded a permit from the City, offering to let the authorities look at the can to assure them that the fire regulations relating to the transportation of motion pictures were being observed. The distributor asserted that the City could have no other interest in the contents of the can. When the City refused the permit, the distributor brought suit in the federal court. When the trial court and the court of appeals upheld the censorship ordinance, an appeal was directed to the United States Supreme Court. In a five to four decision, the Court upheld the Chicago system, its general view being that while motion pictures were protected by the First Amend-

ment, they were still a unique form of communication which permitted the city authorities extra rights in terms of control over such communication. In view of the close division of the Court, speculation is rife in movie circles as to whether this decision will be narrowed in future movie cases.

Following the decision in "Don Juan," the City authorities decided to amend their ordinance (the "Adults Only" provision, as indicated earlier, had been struck down and was not affected by the "Don Juan" case). In part this decision to amend was due to continuous criticism in the press and elsewhere as to the manner in which precensorship was being conducted. Equally important was the fact that while the ordinance had been upheld in the "Don Juan" case, the City had lost every court test involving the merits of a particular picture. Thus, while the censors were censoring vigorously, any distributor who had the time and money to appeal to the courts was getting such censorship knocked out.

The much heralded amendment involved a repetition of all of the earlier procedure but imposed on top of the Police Commissioner (and his censor board), a Motion Picture Appeal Board. This Board, according to the ordinance, was to consist of members "experienced or educated in one or more of the following fields: art, drama, literature, philosophy, sociology, psychology, history, music, science, or other related fields." Such a board was, in fact, appointed early in 1962. It includes the head of the Poetry Club, a prominent psychiatrist, a prominent educator, a prominent lawyer, and a prominent woman in civic affairs. Most of the cases which have been appealed from the censor unit to the Appeal Board have been reversed by the Appeal Board. The question still remains, however, as to whether the concept of pre-censorship, despite the less

stringent results, can be sustained in a free society.

Motion pictures are the only area in which there is an actual requirement of prior submission and licensing before exhibition is permitted (it is the constitutionality of that requirement which is the legal question presented by the "Don Juan" case above). However, a censorship unit of the Police Department operates in other areas as well. Thus, one of the sergeants attached to the censorship unit looks after drama. Nothing is done until the play is produced and the sergeant then sees it on opening night. If the play offends his morals, he then requests the producer to make changes. In at least one instance, however, the Shubert Theatre chain submitted to the censor unit a play entitled "The Respectful Prostitute" by Jean Paul Sartre. The Police Department refused to approve the play, first, on the ground that the title would not look good "plastered on billboards," second that the play was an insult to the Negro race and, third, that the play was generally obscene.

When the Police Department banned the play, the drama critics of the newspapers and some of the editorial writers condemned the banning. However, the matter would have died then but for the fact that the ACLU determinedly challenged the censorship unit's authority. In January, 1949, the play was put on at the University of Chicago with the original New York cast. Actors Equity agreed that the cast should perform without salary in order to demonstrate to the public the quality of the play which had been banned.

The City scrupulously refrained from making any arrests at the University of Chicago performance, but there was no theatre willing to commercially exhibit the play after the ban was imposed.

"The Respectful Prostitute" was but one of many. "Tobacco Road"

CHICAGO:  
Citadel of  
Censorship

*Abner J. Mikva is a representative in the Illinois General Assembly. He is an attorney and has received many awards for his work in civil rights.*

was closed by the censorship authorities shortly after it opened in Chicago. "The Children's Hour" never opened because of the censorship authorities. Most recently, the Police Commissioner personally overruled his censor unit and directed a troupe of African dancers to wear bras before permitting the dancing exhibition to open (despite the fact that the troupe had played "unbraed" in most other cities).

**M**AGAZINES and books present still a different kind of censorship problem. The same Police censorship unit performs the further function of inspecting the newsstands and book stores for objectionable magazines. Significantly, there have been few convictions against booksellers, despite many arrests.

Apparently chafing under the "inefficiency" of the trial by jury and other due process safeguards enjoyed under the Constitution even by sellers of questionable literature, strenuous efforts have been made from time to time to pass "comic book" ordinances. The so-called "comic book" proposals would ban comic books that portray "horror," or "crime," or "sex." The problem, of course, is one of definition. What is a comic book, what is horrible, criminal, or sexy — and who will make those decisions?

In addition to the efforts to pass local ordinances, efforts have also been made to pass state laws restricting in one way or another the distribution and sale of books and magazines. Illinois, like most other states, has a statute which prohibits the distribution or sale of obscene printed matter. As part of the criminal law, it requires prosecution after the

fact and the procedural safeguards attend any defendant in such a prosecution. Efforts to shortcut such procedures have been by way of propounding various injunctive remedies which can be sought either by local prosecutors or in some instances by private citizens. In effect, the case would be against a book rather than the defendant and the remedies would be summary. Thus far, all such proposals have failed, but the effort continues.

Compared to motion pictures and even magazines, books have had comparatively little legal difficulty in Chicago. Most of the difficulty has come in private citizen efforts to eliminate paperbacks which some person or persons find offensive. A modern Carrie Nation recently was stopped in her efforts to glue together all the pages of the books she found offensive. Local book sellers and particularly drugstores are subject to intensive economic boycotts if they carry books that somebody doesn't like.

**N**ON-GOVERNMENTAL censorship can just as effectively interfere with free speech as governmental authority. When a motion picture entitled "Salt of the Earth" produced by one of the unions ousted by the CIO for alleged Communistic activity was brought to Chicago, the motion picture projectionists union, at first, refused to operate the projectors for showing the picture.

Problems as to books and magazines have also come up to the federal

level. The desire for local purity has spilled over to the Post Office where the local officials banned a local magazine called "Big Table" from the mails. As the judge said in reversing the ban:

"Turning to the record now presented for review, it must be ruled that 'Big Table' could not be found obscene, as a matter of law . . . The merit of [the author's] works is in dispute and not highly regarded for the most part. But, as we said in the 'Ulysses' opinion: ' . . . Art certainly cannot advance under compulsion to traditional forms, and nothing in such a field is more stifling to progress than limitation of the right to experiment with a new technique.'"

Free speech is worth the price of some bad movies and some "horrible" comic books. While the blue pencil still hovers over Chicago, its point has been dulled somewhat.

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# POLITICAL UNDERCURRENTS IN KANSAS CITY

*Howard D. Neighbor*

ON March 26, 1963, Kansas City voters will march to the polls to "throw the bad guys out" and "return the city to nonpartisan charter government." At least that's the way the "good guys" would explain the seemingly inevitable reaction of the electorate against the past four years in city hall. Of course, this good-bad dichotomy does not begin to describe the political metamorphosis through which the city is passing.

Four years ago the long and peaceful reign of the Citizens Association (C.A.) came to an end when Councilman Charles Shafer led to victory a hastily assembled crew of Democratic Coalition (D.C.) candidates. Shafer had carried the Citizens banner in 1955, but because he failed to stick to his "team assignment" he was benched by the 1959 C.A. screening committee. Rather than sit it out on the sidelines, he accepted the draft of the D.C. team. When the votes were counted Shafer and his boys had broken, by a score of 5-4, the seven game "reform" winning streak.

For 19 years the Democratic factions — remnants of the old Pendergast machine — had been regularly taking it on the chin from what they call the "do-gooders." As political pros of the old Pendergast school, they must have felt like the remnants of the Gas House Gang. Who could blame them from shouting in 1959 that street-corner politics was back; that the "old school" could not be denied. Yet, somehow the victory boasts of the united factions didn't seem to add up.

## THE CITIZENS ASSOCIATION ERA

Reform government came to Kansas City in 1940 after federal prosecutions had broken up the inner core of the Pendergast machine. L. P. Cookingham, one of the big names in the fledgling field of professional city management, was named city manager to replace the Pendergast protege H. F. McElroy. Cookingham came to Kansas City virtually assured of success. The record of his predecessor was so poor that even minimal accomplishment on his part would look good in comparison. In addition, World War II, with its shortages in material and personnel, gave the new administration a breathing spell during which it could set the house in order without being required to produce visible monuments of progress.

During the war years Cookingham's

professional staff carefully laid plans for the big building and annexation programs of the late 1940's and the 1950's. But even as the city paid off its debts from the Pendergast Era and built up a financial backlog for the building program, Cookingham recognized the inadequacy of the revenue structure. As early as 1944 he suggested to the city council the need for a flexible source of revenue to balance the stable property tax base. The city needed a new source of revenue able to keep up with the rising cost of living and the demand for increased scope of city services. However, Cookingham found it impossible to convince the council that a city, operating with a budget surplus, could be in financial trouble.

Through the late 1940's and the early 1950's, the city manager's suggestions turned to pleas, and they became more and more frequent. When in the early 50's it became apparent that revenues were inadequate, the Public Administration Service of Chicago was called in by the Chamber of Commerce to make a detailed study of the city financial structure. PAS recommended the institution of a city sales tax, an earnings tax, or any tax that would be able to fluctuate with the economy. In the meantime, the city council fell into the trap of meeting immediate revenue needs by "nuisance tax" increases: hence the primary need for a permanent solution to the problem was pushed to the background. As a consequence, when an earnings tax was reluctantly offered to the voters in 1957, promoters of the plan were unable to argue effectively in terms of urgent necessity. The proposal was beaten by a 3-1 majority, and the council was forced to return to "nuisance tax" increases in order to balance the budget.

Councilman Shafer, who had been the most active spokesman for the earnings tax proposal, correctly interpreted the election defeat as a rebuff for the Citizens Association and the Cookingham administration. He carefully laid the groundwork for the 1959 campaign by questioning publicly — more and more frequently as the election approached — the adequacy of the administration.

Shafer's criticism was to the point, for the Citizens Association and its city administration were inadequate in meeting the problem at hand. In a sense the C.A. was a victim of its own dogma, and the dogma of the founders of municipal reform: that

problems of municipal government are administrative problems; that such problems which might arise can be solved only by more and more efficient administration. When a real political problem arose — that matter of an inadequate revenue base — neither the city council nor its parent political organization were geared to provide a solution.

It is true that *most* municipal problems are administrative problems and that they are best solved by professional administrators. But occasionally there are political problems and these the administrative arm of government is ill-equipped to handle.

The Citizens Association was actually organized in December of 1941 some two years after an *ad hoc* coalition of reform groups had won control. The C. A. was created by Republicans and reform Democrats to perpetuate the political *status quo*; and it was able to renew—in 1942 and 1944 — the public mandate of 1940. Thus by 1946 the Association had firmly established itself as the majority party. Though the remnants of the Pendergast machine were able to regroup by 1946 and henceforth to provide continuous opposition to the Citizens, there was not until 1959 an issue on which they could build a winning coalition. The Cunningham administration, with a continuously friendly city council — and sponsored by the business oriented Citizens Association — was remarkably efficient. Thereby it was able to prevent the rise of controversial political issues until the ill-fated earnings tax election of 1957. But by the time the political issue arose, the C.A. was no longer capable of political innovation. The mandate of 1940 had long since dissipated; and under the aegis of an efficient administrative machine, the political organization gradually lost its vitality.

When the financial problem became serious the Citizens Association no longer had within it the capability of devising a publicly acceptable solution; nor for that matter did it have the widespread public support necessary to "sell" a tax increase. It had neither a public mandate, nor leadership from its party, nor a political leader within its own ranks around which to rally.

This rigidity in political behavior is seemingly inherent in the nature of the nonpartisan city manager system. In a governmental system in which the administrator is *defined* as king, there would seem to be little

room for political leadership. Thus, the failure of the C.A. in 1959 is in truth a tribute to the effectiveness with which it was able to realize the ideals of the founders of the nonpartisan city manager concept. It did indeed remove politics from city hall: so much so that when the financial problem became a serious political issue, the voters had only the politically oriented Democratic factions toward which to turn.

Up to this time the factions had been unwitting allies of the Citizens Association. During and after World War II, prosperity had produced an ever expanding middle class, un-receptive to lower class oriented "old school" city government. Although the factions were able to remain alive by dividing up the spoils still coming from the Jackson County courthouse, they were unwilling or unable to provide acceptable alternatives for the middle-class majority of the city. Thus these voters were left with no alternative but the Citizens Association. Even the financial crisis might not have been enough to break this voting pattern, had it not been for the political foresight of Shafer, and his subsequent rejection by the C.A.

Following the defeat of the earnings tax proposal in 1957, Shafer correctly perceived the existence of a political vacuum. He proceeded to fill it. There is no evidence that he had any intention of doing so outside the Citizens Association — until he was summarily ejected just prior to the 1959 election. But when Shafer left the ranks of "reform" he did not leave alone. He seemed to be the ex-officio leader of an unorganized cadre of dissidents within the Citizens Association. These dissidents were basically upper middle class, with a high degree of political motivation, a deep concern over the financial plight of the city and, most important, a growing feeling of frustration at the lack of direction from the C.A. So, when Councilman Shafer was ejected from the Association for saying what they had been thinking, they followed him into the coalition camp. Buoyed by the chance of "victory at last," the Democratic factions were able to combine into a cohesive political organ. They rode in on the coat tails of Charles Shafer and his followers. Thus the fall of the C.A. came not from a rejuvenation of the factions, but from internal decay of the organization itself.

#### THE SHORT AND UNHAPPY REIGN OF THE COALITION

Since 1959 it has become apparent

that the election victory of the Democratic Coalition was in no sense an endorsement of "old school" politics; nor was it a mandate for the coalition caucus of the city council to politicize city government. The ouster of City Manager Cunningham, and the wholesale house-cleaning of the administrative hierarchy — replacing professional administrators with political appointees — met such widespread public reaction that scarcely a year of the new council had passed before the coalition caucus had ceased to function as an effective decision-making unit. Councilman Shafer, who provided the formula for victory in 1959, soon backed away from the caucus. From then until now the city council has painted an image of hopeless confusion. In an unsuccessful effort to find a city manager who would satisfy it, three permanent and four acting managers were paraded through city hall. What is more, it has failed to find any means of increasing governmental efficiency: it has increased "nuisance taxes," has operated under rigid austerity, but has not been able to prevent the city from falling deeper and deeper into financial trouble.

In 1959 Councilman Shafer and the coalition campaigned on the pledge that the financial problem could and would be solved without tax increases; that the problem would be solved by increasing the efficiency of city government. An electorate, conditioned to believe that all problems could be solved by administrative efficiency, readily accepted the pledge. In April of 1962 Shafer startled Kansas City by introducing a new earnings tax proposal before the city council. Said Shafer: "I am tired of living with a campaign pledge that I started. We've gone three years doing the impossible, and we could do it some more. But, I'm more concerned with the growth and welfare of Kansas City than with the political future of Charles Shafer."

Of course, by this time the coalition caucus had dissolved and it had lost any chance it might have had to pull its financial chestnuts out of the fire. With a new city council election only months away, Shafer's proposal never came to a public vote. Hence, the Democratic Coalition went into the 1963 election campaign having failed to achieve legitimacy in relation to the big issue on which it ascended to power.

The concept of legitimacy is one of the pillars of liberal democracy. Functionally, it provides that if a party or elected official fails to per-

form satisfactorily in relation to that which the electorate perceives to be its best interests, the party or official will not be re-elected. The principle of legitimacy operates not only in relation to the physical security of the electorate, but also in relation to governmental ideals or methods which have come to be accepted as standards for evaluating governmental performance. Through the long years of the Citizens Association era, the growing middle-class majority had come to accept as standards of governmental performance the merit system, a depoliticized administration, and the mutual exclusiveness of the policy-making and administrative functions in government. The coalition in 1959 charged the C.A. with violations of these standards, yet proceeded itself to violate them with impunity. In 1959 it declared that City Manager Cookingham had usurped the powers of the city council; then the coalition caucus proceeded to usurp the powers of the city manager. Failing to realize the nature of its public mandate, it took less than a year for that mandate to be lost.

Thus, having failed to perform satisfactorily in relation to the big financial issue, having performed equally unsatisfactorily in relation to the standards of governmental performance, it was obvious as early as the spring of 1961 that the D.C. had failed to achieve legitimacy. It became more obvious in the spring of 1962 when a renovated Citizens Association squared off against the factions in a preliminary election skirmish. A council redistricting plan backed by the C.A. triumphed over one backed by the factions by a nearly 4-1 majority.

#### HINTS OF THE FUTURE

The Democratic Coalition, obviously, is not to be established as the new majority party in Kansas City. In fact there is some question as to whether the factions of which it is composed will be able to survive much beyond the 1963 election. There are strong indications of a movement toward reform in the county courthouse. Deprived of county patronage, the factions could not exist.

What form will two-party politics take in Kansas City, if the factions die out as a permanent minority opposition? In this country a political system without some form of two-party struggle is unthinkable. The two-party tradition — even if its form is merely two factions of the same party name — is deeply rooted in the

American social structure.

Already, in this 1963 campaign, there are hints of things to come. The split-off from the Citizens Association of the conservative wing of the Republican party — under the banner of the Independent Voters Association — seriously clouded the primary election campaign. The strength of that move is anybody's guess at the time of this writing (although by the time of publication, the February 26th primary election should have provided some pretty clear answers). The long-range implication is obvious however. The IVA based its election bid on the same principles of nonpartisan, merit system, city manager government, as did the revamped Citizens Association. So it is rather apparent that the Kansas City political battles of the future will be between near ideological equals, as is traditional in American politics.

What is most unclear at this time is the future of so-called "nonpartisanship." The Citizens Association has always been more accurately bi-partisan than nonpartisan. That is, it has been a coalition of Republicans and reform Democrats. This coalition was preserved on the fear of a return to machine politics. But with the factions dead or dying and the threat of machine politics dying with them, it is an open question whether the C.A. and its future opposition can retain the bi-partisan base. It is highly possible that "nonpartisanship" could revert to a thinly disguised reflection of national party alignments — as has been the case in many so-called "nonpartisan" cities.

On the other hand, national party politics many times do not cut along the same lines as local attitudes. So, it is possible that the C.A. and its opposition of the future could each carry a bi-partisan "nonpartisan" appeal; one slightly more progressive, the other slightly more conservative — but the split coming on local rather than national issues.

As to the outcome of the 1963 election, it is impossible to predict with certainty the winner of any particular race. Whatever the final result, it

will be a repudiation of not only the last four years but also the last eight years of city government. If the Citizens Association is able to present itself clearly as a revitalized party it will unquestionably triumph. Human nature is on its side, for an individual who is insecure will almost always seek first to return to secure associations of the past. On this basis alone it is reasonable to assume that the Citizens Association will win at least a majority of the seats in the new council. In any event, it is safe to assume that on the new council there will be a strong majority of councilmen pledged to solve the financial problem through a broad overhaul of the tax structure, pledged to a return of "charter government," and also pledged to a "rebuilding" of the Kansas City "image."

It is much too early to anticipate the alignment of political forces in 1967. It seems apparent, however, that in the future the growing middle-class majority will demand acceptable alternatives from the opposing political parties. Given acceptable alternatives, the electorate will not be so reluctant to replace the "ins" with the "outs." Therefore, no matter how efficient and effective the city administration, it seems unlikely the electorate will again allow the city manager the dominance that he held in the Citizens Association era. A city council more responsive to the electorate would not suffer such a lack of political direction. More confident of its own political authority, it would not be likely to allow the city manager to grow to the proportions of Cookingham.

In retrospect, the long and politically peaceful reign of the Citizens Association appears as a unique experience in Kansas City political life. Ironically the frustrated Democratic factions contributed to the long line of C.A. successes by failing to provide the middle-class majority with acceptable alternatives.

The Citizens Association of anti-Pendergastism was born and reached its dotation on the fear of a return to machine politics. In 1959 it collapsed of its own weight. Revitalized under the same name, it may yet rise to new heights — though sharing the glory with a publicly acceptable opposition. Whether the political dichotomy is to be along national or local party lines is not really so important: for either way there is now the promise of political stability which only a responsible two-party system can produce.

Howard D. Neighbor is the author of "Reform: Metamorphosis of Nonpartisan Politics in Kansas City, Missouri" and is engaged in a continuing study of political activities in Kansas City. He received his Ph. D in political science from Kansas University.

## The Last Spring Of An Old Family Name

A cardinal  
(half-hidden  
in oak leaves)  
shakes out his bright  
heritage  
over this small  
family plot  
of gravestones  
where I stare  
at my own  
remembered  
roll call of names  
The cardinal  
(his feathers  
all slicked down)  
flies away  
to the green edge  
of a cornfield  
where I lose him  
in the warm  
red sunshine  
I return now  
to muse among  
these gravestones  
The proud names  
bang in my ears  
like screen doors  
And I am loved  
in a hundred  
springtime places

## Wind in the Tall Corn

*"There was a high majestic fooling  
Day before yesterday in the yellow  
corn."*

—CARL SANDBURG

A madcap wind bends back  
the scarecrow's broomstick frame,  
stumbles me slap-happy  
down the Burlington track.  
Strong gusts in the tall corn  
set the tassels dancing.  
Seven crows come to caw.  
A girl with beefy thighs  
wipes sweat off her red face,  
then disappears in leaves.  
Circus-wind blows me wild  
and woolly toward the house.  
Beyond the railroad track  
the scarecrow breaks his neck,  
cries murder up his sleeve.

March-April, 1963

## Hemingway, the Reporter

ERNEST HEMINGWAY: THE WILD YEARS, edited by Gene Z. Hanrahan. (Dell Books, 60c paper, 288 pp.)

One of the depressing things about newspaper writing is that it ages so quickly. More depressing is that most newspaper writing isn't very good to begin with, and it isn't supposed to be. The system is against it.

The "best" newswriting is concise and factual. It uses short words in short sentences. It jams many facts into few column inches, to save on paper and the reader's time.

Now this is fine if what you're after is a sterile, objective account of the day's news. But the greater task of newspapers — one that is beginning to be recognized — is to tell the truth *about* the facts by placing stories in a meaningful framework.

In recent years this job has been done by the better newspapers through news analysis, background stories, interpretive features, reprinting of original news sources, and other devices.

But in the earlier decades of the century, and in the cities not directly influenced by the purifying influence of the "new journalism," the interpretive function was often filled by reporters who traveled in Europe and reported their findings to the folks at home. Richard Halliburton was for several years a correspondent of this type. So was Ernest Hemingway. In the years 1920-23, Hemingway did dozens of stories for the *Toronto Star*, traveling to France, Germany, Italy, and the Near East. Then he returned home to write of Chicago gang wars and the morals of an awakening society.

In "The Wild Years," Gene Z. Hanrahan has brought together 73 of the stories Hemingway did in this period. They are said to be stories which held "millions of readers spell-bound," but the fact is they are not very different from a lot of the newswriting of that era and they are not very well written.

The clipped Hemingway style, so

economical and so expressive, is absent from these stories. The insight into human feeling isn't here. Hemingway is simply the newspaper reporter, telling of what he sees in the same standard phrases and the same overblown style his colleagues used.

Try to find literary excellence in this account of a gangland shooting that reads more like Mickey Spillane than Ernest Hemingway:

"Reaching back with his left hand to press the door bell, he was blinded by two red jets of flame from the window of the next apartment, heard a terrific roar and felt himself clouted sickeningly in the body with the shock of the slugs from the sawed-off shot gun.

" . . . But it was not quite the end. For the pale-faced D'Andrea, his body torn and huddled, his horn-rimmed spectacles broken, but hooked on, pulled himself to his knees and looking with his near-sighted eye into the darkness jerked five shots out of his automatic pistol in the direction of the shot gun that had roared his death warrant."

Assuming that this improbable sequence of events is physically (or logically) possible, the passage by Hemingway still almost needs a whisper of "pocketa-pocketa-pocketa" in the background to make it come off right. Obviously, this is Hemingway the sports editor of his high school newspaper writing, and not Hemingway the stylistic innovator of the Twenties.

As Thurber noted before his death, the ravages of the literary executors often seem to uncover embarrassingly bad writing which is then preserved for the sake of completeness. Now it seems that it is Hemingway's turn; and because these stories were not copyrighted and have now been packaged so attractively, it is highly likely that they will make someone more money than they ever made Hemingway.

The writing is competent. It was good enough for the *Star* and for its readers. But its resurrection in 1962 is unpardonable literary ghoulishness, and the presentation of these stories as "fabulous adventures and fantastic stories" written by "America's greatest writer" is commercialized morbidity.

Robert Ebert

Page Twenty-one

Eighty paintings and sixty drawings by Vincent Van Gogh were being exhibited at the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery until March 26. This collection belonged to the family of Theo Van Gogh, Vincent's devoted brother, and are now the property of the Theo Van Gogh Foundation on permanent loan to the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam. The paintings and drawings represent Van Gogh's earliest approaches to art in Etten, Holland in 1881, work done in The Hague 1881-1883, Neunan 1883-1885, Antwerp 1885-1886, Paris 1886-1888, Arles 1888-1889, Saint-Remy 1889-1890 and Auvers - sur - Oise from May 21 to July 29, 1890. Vincent died when he was 37 years old. His work covers ten years. Many of the oils are small studies for larger compositions. There are three self-portraits  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " and eight oil sketches after Millet, seven of which are in the neighborhood of 17" x 12" (more or less). The collection also contains the famous Potato Eaters, the popular Zouave, Boats on the Beach of Saintes-Maries, Vincent's Bedroom in Arles, and Wheat Fields with Crows.

In the last year, the gallery has had several other exceedingly important exhibits of collections — Morton May's German Expressionists, Joseph Hirschhorn's sculpture, a beautifully conceived educational effort called "Forerunners of Modern Art," and a handsomely mounted exhibit on the arts of primitive cultures. Within the stringent limits of budget, the staff does a heroic job of gathering, mounting and annotating by lectures and publication several outstanding exhibits each year.

Vincent



THE opening night of the Van Gogh exhibition in Kansas City, if we examine the newspaper reports and editorials, was as much a social, diplomatic affair as an event of interest to art enthusiasts. The ballyhoo was rather discreet with expressions of pride in the cultural institutions of the city. Kansas City can justifiably be proud of its ability to obtain and exhibit important works of art.

It should not be difficult to understand that in view of the promotion surrounding the travels of the Mona Lisa, that Kansas City, home of the People-to-People program, should stage an international opening for the Van Gogh show. The Ambassador from Holland and representatives of the Art Ministry, to say nothing of Vincent Van Gogh's nephew who travels with the exhibit, made their appearances. Little of the reporting dealt with aesthetic values. There was much talk about the monetary value and statistics regarding the numbers of persons attending the show. Pictures of notables around a magnificently decorated refreshment table appeared in the paper. Punch and the possibility of conversation with Mr. V. W. Van Gogh were special attractions. It is claimed that at the opening no one looked at the paintings since it was the public which was really on display.

There are some who are bitter about this turn — that art should be reduced to an opportunity for social contact. It would be an evil state of affairs if that is all the exhibit meant — but happily other forces take over after the opening. Trained docents give art insights to eager groups of school children and their parents, many of whom have come out of curiosity but leave better informed. There is no evidence that those exhibitions which are not socially ballyhooed, have any greater effect on the art consciousness of the community.

A society art opening may, as a matter of fact, help raise the status of art collecting. Unfortunately, it does little for the status of the artist as a producer of art. It is a positive aspect of our time that the art exhibit has become a widely used ritual where important community social leaders give, even if belated and

oftime grudgingly, recognition to the power of art. The lights, the gaiety, the beautiful women and handsome men, the cultured smile, the festivities occasioned by hommage to a great artist could very well be the subject of an impressionist painting. What is lacking in the gathering are the artists of the community. The social meaning of a fine exhibit would be enhanced if the committee-in-charge would make as much effort to bring artists to the party as it does the status citizen. An opportunity for social contact between the living "Van Goghs" and their future collectors would be an interesting project at integration.

I often wonder why Theo, Vincent's devoted brother, an art dealer associated with a responsible commercial gallery, long in business and well known, could not have done more for his brother in the matter of sales. Other galleries more adventurous, less aligned with propriety in the arts were dealing with impressionist paintings and making sales. Van Gogh wasn't that much way out. There were considerable numbers of collectors who appreciated the impressionists and postimpressionists of their own time and gave them commissions for portraits and decorations. The answer, I think, is apparent in this exhibit. Vincent's entire career was limited to ten years, including the time he considered himself a student of Rappard and Mauve. Many of the paintings in the exhibit are the work of a student who was most fortunate in a brother who posed as friend, confidant, sponsor, and Maecenas. His early drawings at Etten are like countless early ventures of talented beginners who copy their favorites. Compared to the technical virtuosity of a Millet or the academy of The Hague school to which Vincent earlier aspired, his own painting is primitive, frustrated, labored. The "Art Fairs" of today give students an opportunity to show and sell their work. Student's work is rarely bought — and Van Gogh's earlier work was looked upon as student's work.

Even in Paris, when the new influence of impressionism struck him, his work was reminiscent of the impressionist masters, Monet, Renoir, and even Toulouse - Lautrec. There

were many painters living in Paris, who like Van Gogh painted under the influence of the impressionists. Few had the genius to develop a personal style and statement out of what appeared to be a limited technical skill. But when you look at the paintings of his last three years, you see a miracle: the limitations of technique and perception are synthesized through genius to become a personal style that transcends virtuosity and good taste. This was recognized a few years after his death when his work began to be shown wherever contemporary art was appreciated and purchased.

HERE is a kind of game which art historians like to play: how do you think he would have developed had he lived longer? Although no one can know exactly what an artist might have done had he lived, we can ask the question: what would his reputation be had he not lived as long as he did? I doubt that Van Gogh's genius would have been recognized had his career ended after Paris. But later, after Arles, St.-Remy, and Auvers-sur-Oise, we are aware of a strange mystique in his development. During the ten years in which he painted, we note a development of style that parallels similar development of artists who lived more than twice the thirty-seven years of Van Gogh. There are also strange parallels with the work of other geniuses who died young — like Watteau and Mozart, both of whom, like Van Gogh, seemed to have experienced a style of youth, a middle-age, and old-age style. We find a youth style generally conservative and awkward, looking back, relatively tightly drawn and classically composed; a middle-age style more adventurous with greater creativity in iconography and exploitation of the materials of paint and brush; and an old-age style of looseness in drawing and openness in composition, freedom in brush stroke, often revealing a passionate exuberance.

Rembrandt and Franz Hals, whose works Van Gogh knew well and who lived into old age, may be analyzed in this way. Renoir had his young tight style and old age exuberant style as did Michelangelo. How Van Gogh would have developed had he lived is

irrelevant. But what mystical force in the life of an artist destined to die young pushes him to a relative completion of a cycle of work, *that* is the question. For the work of Van Gogh seems to be complete: his late work a rich ripening over his early work, as if his doom and passion, acting like a bruise on a piece of fruit, hastened its ripening.

**T**HE social statement as expressed in his letters and in the "Potato Eaters" was not new with Van Gogh. He finds himself in the company of Courbet and Millet. It is also of great influence on the 19th Century painters of Holland, Belgium, and Germany. The "Potato Eaters" seems to be one of the most popular paintings of the exhibition. The curious but artistically unsophisticated are attracted by the literal message. Since it is a Van Gogh some of the more sophisticated express themselves as moved by this painting, although the fashionable dicta frowns on social content and while American artists like the Soyers, Gwathmey, Evergood, Levine, Refrigier and others have had a hard time finding appreciation for their "humanism" in painting.

It is important to observe that Van Gogh's genius flowered away from the city. Late 19th Century art is generally urban-centered. The landscapes and sea-scapes are vacation lands where one goes for rest and leisure from city sights and work and they are often populated by the same people one finds in paintings of the cafes, the music halls, the street parades, the picnics in city parks. But this aspect of nature and society struck no important chords within Van Gogh. It is not an accident that he copied the work of Millet for he saw in the laborer in the field the nobility which is lost in the exploitation and competition of the city worker. He found little attraction in the bohemianism which was the city artist's revolutionary reaction to exploitation.

The farm laborer working near the earth is more a child of nature and can be romanticized into a mystical symbol of strength and virtue. This kind of primitivism in an industrial society was the same force that led him to develop a "primitive" technique — the direct approach to his canvas that appears organic and spontaneous — a break with the traditional academic virtues which were schooled and restrictive. This attachment to the "primitive" gave him a rosy picture of Gauguin and a hope

that they might develop a partnership in painting. But Gauguin's primitivism made him search out the South Sea Islands while Van Gogh found his subject in the peasants of Provence.

Van Gogh's genius as an artist transcends his peculiar psychological "humanity" which caused him to destroy himself. There is a great deal of speculation regarding the psychology of Van Gogh and how he used his art to give him stability and status.

**I**t was during the last three years of his life that Van Gogh concentrated his drive and energy less on the lessons he could learn from other artists and more on the expression of his feelings and emotions. He began to exploit the materials of art, paint, brush, line, and color and received creative satisfaction from this activity. There is little new in the kind of subject matter he chose — still life of flowers, landscapes, interiors, objects, and spaces intimately reflecting the artist's surroundings — but his manner opens new avenues of artistic communication. In this period Van Gogh sows and scatters the seeds of style which grew into "action painting" of the 20th Century. Paint squeezed out of a tube, thickly applied by brush or palette knife, the use of color to make a statement about one's own feeling rather than imitate the material reality of an object, are techniques and principles of art which were welcomed by many persons bored with the expressive limitations of the academy and its authority.

Van Gogh projected a new freedom, a new vision that could be tied to the freedoms sought by the intellectuals who lived on the fringe of bohemia. Color juxtaposition, line direction, brush stroke, breadth and thickness of line, encirclement, dots and dashes, scallops, curlicues, and cross hatching are boldly used to describe feelings rather than things. More and more as we follow his development, Van Gogh's paintings become descriptions of his turmoil, his passion, his joys, his primitivism, his violence, his frustration, his impatience. He uses traditional subject matter but what he says about the subject is far from traditional for he is bent more on telling the world about himself, on sharing himself, on somehow being useful. Even if he does not succeed in coming into our lives, we cannot reject him easily. His works knock vigorously against the prejudices which may be barriers and if they do not break them down

they leave them bruised. Employing the communicative technique of style he projects a cry and a shout of loneliness and struggle with art and man that excites all who listen sympathetically and leads them into the world of his pain and joy.

The direct experience of the work of Van Gogh to so many who have learned to appreciate modern art through the countless reproductions makes this exhibit eminently significant. His greatness pushes us beyond his own work. It helps us perceive artists of our own time more sympathetically and offer them greater support. There is a pervasive influence in the work of Van Gogh that touched the artist friends who made up the Blaue Reiter group. They included him in the Blaue Reiter Almanac as a spiritual forerunner. He showed the Fauves in France and the German Expressionists later on, how it was possible to create a style and a new art content by exploiting the tools and materials of the craft as much as by reflecting on the traditional aspects of nature. His art excites reflection on the value of extemporaneity and the accident within the mystique of an aesthetic experience. Van Gogh was not alone in this movement but his paths were unique.

Appreciation of Van Gogh, if it is to be meaningful, should lead us to be sensitive to the struggles and the frustrations of artists now living in Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City and elsewhere who, at this moment, receive little attention or support from the museums or the important art collectors waiting, as too many do, for the certain buy. Many fine talents developing a unique style seem, like the early Van Goghs, to be more like other artists than themselves. The challenge to discern the uniqueness behind the similarities and to recognize the potential for development is part of the adventure inherent in the art experience. The Van Gogh exhibition is not an exhibition of masterpieces but it does describe the development of creative genius. If we learn something from that development and apply it to the appreciation of the art of our own day, we will be honoring the memory of Vincent.

*Sidney Lawrence, proprietor of the Lawrence Gallery in Kansas City, Missouri, has been active in promoting young artists. He is also the director of the Community Relations Board of Kansas City.*

MARK M.  
PERLBURG

CHICAGO



Have you ever attended a concert and enjoyed it immensely, only to find yourself in utter disagreement with the music critic whose review you read while drinking your coffee the morning after? Because this has happened to me so often, I have thought a good deal about the practice of music criticism. What follows are some conclusions.

It seems to me that music criticism, no matter who writes it, falls into three principal categories. Most critics follow what I have come to call the *descriptive* approach. Then there is the *scholarly*, or even the pedantic approach, and lastly, there is the critic who doubles as a sort of *cultural historian*. In between, of course, there are a variety of sub-approaches, such as the gossipy—e.g. what conductor is going to get what orchestra in the 1963-64 season in Buenos Aires.

Most newspaper critics follow the descriptive method. They describe, often in terms usually applied to the pictorial arts, how the music sounded to them. I recall reading a review in *Time* some years back in which the late great Leonard Warren turned out to have a "mahogany-hued" voice, and we have all read of sopranos who late in their careers are described as having "white" voices, meaning pale and frayed about the edges (which is a further bit of description, but more valuable because of its greater precision).

Description of a voice or the sound of an orchestra is of course necessary, but when overdone, that is, when it is not mixed in some degree with one or both other principal approaches, the critic runs the risk of sounding as if he is reviewing an art show, with all those remarks about mahogany hues, white tones, and sculptural effects (another pet phrase).

An example of description run awry follows from Miss Claudia Cassidy's review in the *Chicago Tribune* of a concert given by Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic in Orchestra Hall on November 5, 1961. "On this Karajan day, no whisperer he. This whiplash of a Mesmer, who is graying a bit like a silver fox, struck into the Brahms as the greatest Brahms is sometimes played, as a battle with, for and against intransigence. This can demand swimming upstream against the fiercest current, and only the powerful survive the journey. But when they do you have heard Brahms as blackly tragic, as sensuously fragrant, and in the brass chorale as deeply compassionate as this played between our own flag and that of the Berlin still free. It was like the blow of a fist. Yet in it was not just the power, but the glory."

Needless to say, Miss Cassidy does not always write like this, but the quote is an excellent example of the perils of the purely descriptive method.

The chief music critic of *The New York Times*, Harold C. Schonberg, excellent though he usually is, often is the outstanding example of the critic as pedant. I have found, in fact, that Mr. Schonberg might profit by occasionally borrowing a whittled-down arrow from Miss Cassidy's quiver, but when she has her florid style more surely in hand than in the example quoted.

Here is an excerpt from Schonberg's review of Joan Sutherland's debut at the Met. The opera was *Lucia*. "In the first two acts she seemed a little tentative, and occasionally she wavered from the pitch. She even had trouble centering around the B's in the opening scene, though in the same scene, she took a D without apparent trouble. But in the sextet her voice at moments soared out over the ensemble. This took some doing as Richard Tucker was in exceptionally loud voice. More and more he is beginning to bellow rather than sing."

A method I find far more satisfying than the descriptive or the scholarly,

is that used by Paul Henry Lang of *The New York Herald Tribune*. When I have finished reading a Lang review, I often feel that I have learned something about music as it has developed over the past two hundred years, not simply that Sutherland lacked the ability to hit high B (although at her Met debut this was important), or that Fritz Reiner's strings sounded crystalline and put the reviewer in mind of a winter sunrise, or some other irrelevant something.

In August 1961, Mr. Lang reviewed the debut at Carnegie Hall of the young Israeli pianist David Bar-Illan. Lang reviewed not only the performance, but the program as well, and thus he turned his brief piece of daily journalism into a little essay on changing styles in taste and musicology.

According to Lang, Bar-Illan's program — the long, complex, and profound Schubert *Opus 120*, and his *Wanderer Fantasy*, Beethoven's *Eroica Variations* and the *Appassionata*—would have been "unthinkable" in his (Lang's) youth. Such a program, says Lang, and I agree, is too often considered "highbrow" even by some pianists today. One gathers that it would surely have been considered not splashy enough by the "old-line" virtuosos. Had Paderewski performed *The Wanderer*, says Lang, he would have "churned up" portions of it with decorative abandon, without Bar-Illan's essentially more serious regard for its "giant cadences . . . subtle extensions . . . complicated inner pauses." This is to say that Bar-Illan, and other leading present-day pianists, are better-rounded students of the art of music than many an old-style artist who was primarily concerned with the performance of music as a vehicle to display his tricky virtuosity.

Thus we have a review that goes beyond the particular concert under discussion to say how Bar-Illan and the younger pianists differ from the giants of the past. Further, we have the critic's contention that to the older generation (but not to Rubinstein or Serkin — and I would add

Schnabel — "who are ageless"), Schubert presented a special problem.

This I submit — criticism of the cultural-historic approach — is interesting and enlightening. The ideal, of course, would be the critic who could beautifully blend all three approaches perhaps with a touch of the gossip as well, but such a paragon would be a very rare bird indeed.



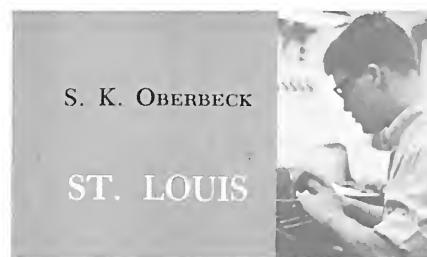
The Junior League of Kansas City recently sponsored a discussion of the culture of Kansas City. Lyman Field, lawyer, acted as moderator; Thomas Hart Benton, artist, Hans Schwieger, conductor of the City's Philharmonic Orchestra, and I led a conversation on the place of the arts in Kansas City for an audience of over eight hundred. There was general agreement that a vigorous culture flourishes best under a democratic political system, fortified by an aristocracy of wealth, with a considerable number devoted to the humanistic concepts of accepting varied points of view, dissimilar personalities, imagination, and flexible minds.

The morning after brings additional thoughts. It has been a long time since an ancient Greek perceived that the individual man is the measure of all things. Sophocles in 442 B.C. sang of the creativity of man's mind and of his ability to shape the natural world to his purposes. At his acceptance of the Nobel Award, John Steinbeck varied that theme very little in 1962: "We have usurped many of the powers we once ascribed to God. Fearful and unprepared, we have assumed lordship over the life and death of the whole world of living things. The danger and the glory and the choice rest finally in man."

Individual responsibility also means individual activity. We can forgive the tender-minded, the cowardly, and the uninformed, but the religionist, the scientist, the moralist, the humanist all call for action. But can a person (or a nation) act without a faithful trust in others who are also acting? Harvey Taylor in "Art and the Intellect" directs our attention to the difficulties inherent in all action where

there is not this trust by way of a fable:

There were once three Indian tortoises — an older one, a middle one and a small one. They were out for a walk and the older one said to the other two, "Let's go have a cup of coffee." They discussed it for a while and agreed to go. Just as they were going into a restaurant, the rain started to fall, and the older one said to the little one, "Son, would you mind running home and getting my umbrella?" The little one said "Yes, I will, if you promise not to drink my coffee." They discussed and agreed. The middle tortoise and the older tortoise went into the restaurant and sat down. Two years later the older one said to the middle one, "I guess he's not coming back. We might as well drink his coffee." Just at this point a piping little voice was heard from the front door saying, "If you do, I won't go."

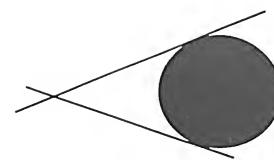


We have sewer trouble here. We have plans for a new downtown sports stadium to pale the Parthenon. We can buy near-beer and baby bottles on Sunday now, provided no reverse law has passed since this writing. Actor-audience symposiums after an Edward Albee performance were conducted at a local cabaret here, proving how things have changed since Plato's day. In deference to National Wildlife Week, however, and for literary esthetes who remember Henry Miller's "The Astrological Cocktail Party," here is another kind, the Zoological Cocktail Party.

One was held here recently in the mid-city home of a young man who maintains, besides wife and son, an eagle, three hawks, four owls, boa constrictors, a young bobcat, a Mexican bird of prey called caracara, a small jungle cat and a huge tank of tropical and native fish called "the T.V. set."

Attending this gathering were promoters of the fur, fin, and feather set in St. Louis, members of the Zoo Association. The occasion was an

*Continued on Page 28*



## VOTING RECORDS

### Congress

#### Key to Voting Records

Y—Voting for the Bill

N—Voting against the Bill

**A MOTION TO TABLE THE QUESTION**, which was whether the Senate could close debate by majority vote under the Constitution when considering a change in the rules at the beginning of a session, notwithstanding the existing Senate rules. The motion to table was put under a unanimous consent agreement. Agreed to 53-42: R 21-11; D 32-31 (ND 12-31; SD 20-0, Jan. 31, 1963. The President did not take a position on the motion. (The Democratic and Republican platforms in 1960 advocated a change).

**B. S. RES. 9. MOTION TO INVOCATE CLO-  
TURE** (limit debate) on the pending motion by Anderson (D, N.M.) to take up S. Res. 9, (two-thirds majority required). Rejected 54-42; R 18-15; D 36-27 (N.D. 34-7; S.D. 2-20, Feb. 7, 1963. (Although this was 10 votes less than the necessary 64 votes for cloture, it marked the first time in five attempts over the past 10 years that proponents of a rules change had registered a majority). The President did not take a position on the vote.

### U. S. SENATORS

Edward V. Long (D., Mo.)	N	N
Stuart Symington (D., Mo.)	N	N
Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.)	Y	Y
Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)	N	N

### States

#### Key to Symbols

Y—Voting for the Bill

N—Voting against the Bill

A—Absent

P—Present but not Voting

(Only available for Missouri)

I—Absent because of Illness

(Only available for Illinois)

### MISSOURI SENATE VOTES

(Bills which are passed without dissent are not recorded in the voting table.)

**SB 5** Increases maximum old age and disability assistance from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 31-0. (Jan. 15, 1963).

**SB 6** Increases maximum aid to blind from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 31-0. (Jan. 15, 1963).

**SB 7** Increases maximum blind pension from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 31-0. (Jan. 15, 1963).

**SB 36** Provides that school purchasing shall give preference to Missouri firms, corporations, or individuals, as well as to Missouri production and manufacturing wherever quality and price are approximately the same. Passed 31-0. (Feb. 11, 1963).

**SB 94** Requires City of St. Louis voters to sign an identification card at each election, which shall be compared with voter's registration signature. Passed 31-0. (Feb. 18, 1963).

**SB 108** Authorizes licensed members of professions listed below to incorporate. The purpose of the act is principally to facilitate the establishment of pensions and pension plans and other incentive and tax savings plans. Only licensed professional men can

be stockholders, originally or by any transfer. Act extends to accountants, architects, attorneys, chiropodists, chiropractors, dentists, optometrists, physicians, and veterinarians. Passed 27-0. (Feb. 20, 1963).

### MISSOURI HOUSE VOTES

(Bills which are passed without dissent are not recorded in the voting table).

**HB 42** Raises maximum old age and disability from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 156-0. (1-14-63).

**HB 43** Increases maximum aid to blind from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 156-0. (1-14-63).

**HB 44** Raises maximum blind pension from \$65 to \$70 a month. Passed 156-0. (1-14-63).

**HB 50** Provides Police Commissioners of St. Louis and Kansas City shall not be eligible for appointment as their own successors to consecutive term. Failed of Perfection 48-98. (1-29-63).

**HB 138** Provides that if a teacher has been re-employed three times within the district, it shall be the duty of the board of directors or board of education if requested in writing by the teacher to make available in writing a statement of reasons for lack of re-employment. Failed to Pass 76-73. (2-4-63).

**HB 95** Provides that in St. Louis City and County, and Kansas City, liquor may be sold from 1 p.m. Sunday to 1:30 a.m. Monday in licensed food establishments. Failed of Perfection 42-98. (2-13-63).

**HB 161** Bill requires St. Louis Police Budget to be itemized, with any expenditure exceeding \$100 individually set out. Passed 99-50. (2-20-63).

**HB 162** Bill authorizes St. Louis Police to organize in social or fraternal groups, and transmit protests of such groups on police administration to police department, police board, or public. Defeated 52-95. (2-20-63).

**MISSOURI HB HB HB HB HB HB**

**REPRESENTATIVES** 50 138 95 161 162

Allen (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	A
Anderson (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Arnold (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Baker (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	
Baltz (D)	P	Y	A	Y	Y
Bassman (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Bauer (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beckerle (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Belt (R)	Y	N	N	N	N
Berra (D)	N	Y	Y	N	N
Betz (R)	P	N	N	N	N
Bild (R)	N	Y	A	N	N
Bollinger (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N
Brenton (R)	N	Y	N	N	N
Butler (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N
Calloway (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Caton (R)	Y	N	A	Y	Y
Campbell (D)	N	N	N	Y	A
Canaday (D)	N	A	N	Y	N
Cannon (D)	P	A	N	Y	N
Cantrell (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Carnahan (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N
Casey (D)	P	Y	N	Y	Y
Chinn (D)	Y	Y	N	A	Y
Clements (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N
Cole (D)	N	N	N	Y	N
Conley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Connors (D)	Y	Y	Y	A	A
Copeland (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Crigler (D)	P	Y	N	Y	Y
Dames (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davidson (Henry) (D)	Y	N	N	Y	P
Davidson (Greene) (R)	Y	A	N	Y	Y
Davis (Webster) (D)	P	Y	P	Y	Y
Davis (Linn) (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Degenhardt (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Dickey (I)	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Dickson (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Duensing (R)	N	N	A	P	N
Ellis (D)	P	Y	N	Y	P
Estep (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Ewing (D)	N	N	A	Y	N
Fickle (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Fitzgerald (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Foley (D)	N	A	Y	Y	N
Frost (D)	N	A	A	Y	A
Gannaway (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N
Garrett (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Gaulding (R)	N	N	N	N	N
Gault (R)	N	N	N	Y	N
Godfrey (D)	P	N	N	N	N
Goldberg (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N
Goode (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Gosser (R)	P	N	N	N	N
Gralike (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Groce (D)	N	Y	N	Y	N

Gunnell (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Uthlaut (R)	P	N	N	N	N
Hankins (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Vaughan (R)	N	N	N	Y	N
Hardy (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Walsh (D)	N	N	Y	Y	A
Harlow (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Warden (R)	N	N	Y	N	N
Harkins (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Weatherly (D)	N	Y	A	Y	N
Harris (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	White (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Henson (D)	P	Y	N	Y	A	Whitney (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N
Hibler (D)	N	Y	N	A	A	Wigfield (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hickey (D)	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Williams (Carroll) (R)	Y	N	P	Y	Y
Holland (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Williams (Buchanan) (D)	N	Y	A	Y	N
Holliday (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Williams (Pike) D	Y	A	Y	Y	N
Huey (R)	Y	N	N	N	N	Woods (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hughes (Johnson) (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Wright (R)	Y	N	N	N	N
Hughes (Dade) (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Wyckoff (R)	N	N	Y	N	Y
Hurt (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Young (R)	Y	Y	N	N	N
Jackson (D)	N	N	Y	N	N	Zeilmann (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	N
James (Dunklin) (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	Zimmerman (R)	P	N	A	P	N
James (Taney) (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	Zwibelman (D)	N	Y	N	N	N
Jasper (D)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Mr. Speaker (D)	N	N	N	A	A

### ILLINOIS SENATE VOTES

**S. B. 119** Increases membership of Parole and Pardon Board from 5 to 7. Raises salary of chairman of board. Provides that after expiration of terms of present members, no member of the board shall hold any other salaried public office. Passed 47-1. (2-5-63).

**S.J.R. 5** Urges calling of a convention for the purpose of proposing an article as an amendment to the U. S. Constitution. Provides the Constitution shall not restrict or limit any State in the apportionment of representation in its legislature. Provides that the judicial power of the U.S. shall not extend to any suit in law or equity, or to any controversy relating to apportionment of representation in a State legislature. Adopted 32-15. (2-13-63).

**S.J.R. 4** Urges calling of a convention for the purpose of proposing an article as an amendment to the U. S. Constitution amending Article V, which pertains to amending the Constitution. Eliminates constitutional conventions. Provides legislatures of two-thirds of the States may propose amendments. Passed 34-15. (Feb. 13, 1963).

<b>ILLINOIS SENATORS</b>	<b>SB</b>	<b>SJR</b>	<b>SJR</b>
	119	5	4
Arrington (R)	Y	Y	Y
Bidwill (R)	A	I	A
Broyles (R)	Y	Y	Y
Canfield (R)	Y	Y	Y
Carpentier (R)	Y	Y	Y
Cherry (D)	N	Y	N
Collins (R)	Y	Y	Y
Coulson (R)	Y	Y	Y
Cronin (D)	N	Y	Y
Davis (R)	Y	Y	Y
De La Cour (D)	N	Y	N
De Tolve (D)	A	A	A
Dixon (D)	A	A	A
Dougherty (D)	N	Y	Y
Downing (R)	Y	Y	Y
Drach (R)	Y	A	Y
Eberspacher (D)	N	Y	Y
Fawell (R)	Y	Y	Y
Finley (D)	N	Y	N
Fox (D)	N	Y	Y
Friedrich (R)	Y	Y	Y
Gilbert (R)	Y	Y	Y
Gottschalk (R)	N	Y	Y
Graham, J. A. (R)	Y	Y	Y
Graham, Paul (R)	Y	Y	Y
Green (R)	Y	Y	Y
Grindle (D)	A	A	A
Groen (R)	Y	Y	Y
Harris (R)	Y	Y	Y
Hart (R)	Y	Y	Y
Hatch (R)	Y	Y	Y
Hoffelder (R)	Y	Y	Y
Kerr (R)	Y	Y	Y
Kinnally (D)	N	Y	N

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Kocarek (D)	N	Y	N	Hansen (R)	Y	Y	Y	Pierce (D)	Y	A	Y	Y
Kusibab (D)	N	Y	N	Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Piotrowski (D)	Y	A	Y	Y
Larson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Heiple (R)	N	N	Y	Pollack (R)	Y	A	Y	Y
Laughlin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Hill (D)	Y	Y	Y	Powell (D)	I	I	I	I
Little (R)	A	I	I	Hittmeier (R)	Y	A	A	Railsbach (R)	Y	Y	N	N
Lyons (D)	A	A	Y	Holloway (D)	Y	Y	N	Randolph (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Martin (R)	Y	Y	Y	Holten (D)	A	I	I	Ratcliffe (D)	Y	Y	N	A
McCarthy (D)	A	Y	A	Horsley (R)	A	A	Y	Redmond (D)	Y	A	A	Y
McGloon (D)	A	Y	A	Hunsicker (R)	A	A	N	Rhodes (R)	A	A	A	A
Meyer (R)	Y	Y	Y	Innen (R)	A	N	N	Rink (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Neistein (D)	N	Y	N	Janczak (R)	Y	Y	A	Robinson (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
O'Brien (D)	A	A	A	Johns (R)	Y	Y	N	Romano (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Ozinga (R)	Y	Y	Y	Johnston (R)	A	Y	Y	Ropa (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Peters (R)	Y	Y	Y	Jones (R)	A	Y	N	Rosander (R)	Y	Y	N	N
Peterson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Kahoun (R)	Y	N	A	Rowe (R)	N	N	Y	N
Schlagenhauf (R)	Y	A	Y	Kaplan (D)	Y	A	A	Ruddy (R)	Y	A	A	Y
Simon (D)	N	N	N	Kennedy (D)	Y	Y	N	Russell (D)	A	A	N	Y
Smith (D)	N	Y	N	Laufer (R)	Y	Y	N	Ryan (D)	Y	A	A	Y
Sours (R)	Y	Y	Y	Lee, Clyde (D)	Y	Y	N	Saal (D)	A	Y	Y	Y
Sprague (R)	Y	Y	Y	Lee, Noble W. (R)	Y	N	A	Sandquist (R)	Y	A	Y	Y
Swanson (R)	Y	Y	Y	Lehman (R)	Y	Y	A	Saperstein (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sweeney (D)	N	Y	N	Lenard (D)	Y	Y	A	Scariano (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Welch (D)	Y	Y	Y	Leon (D)	Y	Y	N	Schaefer (D)	Y	A	N	Y
Ziegler (D)	A	A	A	LoDestro (R)	A	A	A	Schneider (R)	A	A	N	Y
				Loughran (D)	A	A	A	Schoeberlein (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y
				Loukas, J. P. (D)	Y	A	A	Scott (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
				Lucas, Allen (D)	Y	Y	N	Shaw (D)	Y	A	A	Y
				Lyman (D)	Y	Y	N	Simmons (R)	N	Y	A	Y
				Majewski (D)	Y	Y	N	Smith, Frank J. (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Mann (D)	Y	Y	Y	Smith, Ralph T. (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
				Marek (R)	A	Y	A	Soderstrom (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Marks (D)	Y	A	Y	Stastny (R)	Y	N	N	N
				McAvoy (R)	Y	Y	N	Stolle (R)	I	Y	N	Y
				McBroom (R)	A	Y	N	Stremelau (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McConnell (R)	Y	Y	N	Svalina (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McCormick (R)	Y	Y	A	Teefey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McCully (R)	Y	Y	A	Touhy (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McDermott (D)	Y	Y	N	Traynor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
				McDevitt (R)	Y	A	A	Vitek (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McGowan (R)	A	Y	A	Walker, C. A. (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
				McPartlin (D)	Y	Y	A	Walker, Jack (R)	A	Y	N	Y
				Merlo (D)	Y	Y	A	Whalen (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
				Mikva (D)	N	Y	Y	Wiktor斯基 (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Miller, C. O. (R)	A	A	A	Willett (R)	A	Y	N	Y
				Miller, K. W. (R)	Y	Y	A	Walsh, R. A. (R)	N	N	N	N
				Miller, P. J. (R)	Y	Y	N	Walsh, R. V. (D)	N	N	Y	N
				Mills (D)	I	Y	N	Walsh, W. D. (R)	N	N	Y	Y
				Moberley (R)	Y	I	I	Warren (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Moore (R)	Y	A	N	Welsh, R. J. (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Morgan (R)	Y	N	Y	Whalen (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Morris (D)	Y	N	Y	Wiktor斯基 (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Murphy (R)	Y	Y	N	Williams (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Napolitano (D)	Y	A	N	Wilson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
				Neff (R)	A	Y	A	Wittmond (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
				Parkhurst (R)	Y	N	Y	Wolbank (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Partee (D)	Y	Y	Y	Wolf (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Pearson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Wood (R)	A	Y	A	A
				Peskin (D)	Y	Y	Y	Zagone (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
				Pfeffer (D)	A	A	N	Zlatnik (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
								Mr. Speaker (R)	Y	Y	N	Y

## ILLINOIS HOUSE VOTES

**HB 9** Prohibits establishment of any new city, village and incorporated town courts. Passed 140-8. (Feb. 6, 1963).

**HB 234** Permits the state to purchase food from any Illinois bidder who is within 5% of the lowest responsible bidder from out of state. Passed 108-21. (Feb. 19, 1963).

**HB 221** Increases race track wagering tax by 2½%. Motion by Rep. Mikva to have the Committee on Agriculture discharged from further consideration of bill. Defeated 35-60. (Feb. 20, 1963).

**SB 119** Increases membership of Parole and Pardon Board from 5 to 7. Raises salary of chairman of board. Provides that after expiration of terms of present members, no member of the board shall hold any other salaried public office. Passed 134-27. (Feb. 20, 1963).

**ILLINOIS HB HB HB SB**  
**REPRESENTATIVES 9 234 221 119**

Alsup (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
Anderson, M. K. (R)	E	Y	N	N
Anderson, R. E. (R)	Y	N	N	Y
Armstrong (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Austin (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Bairstow (D)	Y	A	A	Y
Baker (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
Baltz (R)	A	A	A	A
Barry (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Bartoline (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Blades (R)	N	Y	N	Y
Branson (R)	Y	A	Y	Y
Brouillet (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Brydia (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Burgoon (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Burhans (R)	Y	A	A	N
Callan (D)	Y	A	A	Y
Campbell (R)	Y	N	A	N
Capuzi (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Carrigan (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Carroll (R)	N	Y	N	Y
Cartel (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ceaser (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Choate (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
Clabaugh (R)	Y	N	A	Y
Clarke (R)	Y	N	Y	Y
Conner (D)	Y	A	A	Y
Conolly (R)	A	Y	A	Y
Costello (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Course (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Coutrakon (R)	Y	A	A	Y
Craig (D)	Y	A	N	Y
Dale (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Dammerman (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
Davidson (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dawson (R)	Y	N	A	N
DeMichaels (D)	Y	A	A	Y
DiPrima (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Dolezal (R)	A	A	N	A
Donnewald (D)	Y	A	N	Y
Donovan (R)	Y	Y	Y	N
Downes (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Downey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Elward (D)	Y	N	Y	Y
Erlenborn (R)	Y	N	Y	N
Euzzino (D)	A	Y	A	Y
Fary (D)	Y	A	I	I
Finfgeld (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Fitzgerrell (R)	Y	A	I	I
Gardner (R)	A	A	A	Y
Glenn (D)	Y	A	N	Y
Graham (R)	Y	Y	A	A
Granata (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Hachmeister (R)	Y	N	A	N
Hale (R)	N	Y	N	Y
Hall (R)	Y	N	Y	N
Hannigan (D)	Y	Y	N	Y

Hansen (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Pierce (D)	Y	A	Y	Y
Harris (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Piotrowski (D)	Y	A	Y	Y
Heiple (R)	N	N	Y	Y	Pollack (R)	I	I	I	I
Hill (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Powell (D)	Y	Y	N	N
Hittmeier (R)	Y	A	A	Y	Railsbach (R)	Y	Y	N	N
Holloway (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Randolph (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Holten (D)	A	I	I	I	Ratcliffe (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Horsley (R)	A	A	Y	N	Redmond (D)	Y	A	A	A
Hunsicker (R)	A	A	N	Y	Rhodes (R)	A	A	A	Y
Innen (R)	A	N	N	Y	Rink (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Janczak (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	Robinson (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Johns (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Romano (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Johnston (R)	A	Y	Y	N	Ropa (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Jones (R)	A	Y	N	Y	Rosander (R)	Y	Y	N	N
Kahoun (R)	Y	N	A	N	Rowe (R)	N	N	Y	N
Kaplan (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Ruddy (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Kennedy (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Russell (D)	A	A	N	Y
Laufer (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Ryan (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Lee, Clyde (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Saal (D)	A	Y	Y	Y
Lee, Noble W. (R)	Y	N	A	A	Sandquist (R)	Y	A	Y	Y
Lehman (R)	Y	Y	A	N	Saperstein (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lenard (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Scariano (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Leon (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Schaefer (D)	Y	A	N	Y
LoDestro (R)	A	A	A	Y	Schneider (R)	A	A	N	Y
Loughran (D)	A	A	A	Y	Schoeberlein (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Loukas, J. P. (D)	Y	A	A	Y	Scott (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lucas, Allen (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Shaw (D)	Y	A	A	Y
Lyman (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Simmons (R)	N	Y	A	Y
Majewski (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Smith, Frank J. (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Mann (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Smith, Ralph T. (R)	Y	Y	N	Y
Marek (R)	A	Y	A	A	Soderstrom (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
Marks (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	Stastny (R)	Y	N	N	N
McAvoy (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Stolle (R)	I	Y	N	Y
McBroom (R)	A	Y	N	Y	Stremelau (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
McConnell (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Svalina (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
McCormick (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	Teefey (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
McCully (R)	Y	Y	A	Y	Touhy (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
McDermott (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Traynor (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y
McDevitt (R)	Y	A	A	Y	Vitek (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
McGowan (R)	A	Y	A	Y	Walker, C. A. (R)	Y	Y	A	Y
McPartlin (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Walker, Jack (R)	A	Y	N	Y
Melro (D)	Y	Y	A	Y	Whalen (D)	Y	Y	N	Y
Milner (D)	A	Y	A	Y	Wiktor斯基 (D)	Y	Y	A	Y
Miller, C. O. (R)	A	A	A	Y	Willett (R)	A</td			